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AN OFFICIAL RECORD

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THE REMOVAL OF THE JESUITS FROM RIO DE LA PLATA AND CHILE.

BERNARD MOSES.

In 1766 the king of Spain appointed Francisco de Paula Bucareli y Ursúa governor of Rio de la Plata, the provinces which ten years later were organized as a viceroyalty. The next year Charles III. issued a decree expelling the Jesuits from Spain and all Spanish possessions in America. The decree, called the *Real Decreto de Ejecucion*, was in the following terms: "Having accepted the opinion of the members of my Royal Council in Extraordinary, which met on the 29th of last January for consultation concerning past occurrences and concerning matters which persons of the highest character have reported to me; moved by very grave causes relative to the obligation under which I find myself placed of maintaining my people in subordination, tranquility, and justice, and other urgent, just, and necessary reasons, which I reserve in my royal mind; making use of the supreme economical authority, which the Almighty has placed in my hands for the protection of my vassals, and the respect of my crown: I have ordered that the Jesuits be expelled from all my dominions of Spain, the Indies, the Philippine Islands, and other adjacent regions, as well priests as coadjutors or lay-brothers, who may have made the first profession, and the novices, who may wish to follow them; and that all the properties of the Society in my dominions be taken; and for the uniform execution

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of this decree throughout these dominions I give you full and exclusive authority; and that you may form the necessary instructions and orders, according to your best judgment, and what you may think the most effective, expeditious, and peaceful method for carrying out these instructions and orders. And I wish that not only the magistrates and superior tribunals of these kingdoms may execute your mandates punctually, but that the same understanding may be entertained concerning those which you may direct to the viceroys, presidents, audiencias, governors, corregidores, alcaldes mayores, and any other magistrates of those kingdoms and provinces; and that in response to their respective requests, all troops, militia or civilian, shall render the necessary assistance, without any delay or evasion, under pain of the delinquent's falling under my royal indignation; and I charge the provincials, presidents, rectors, and other superiors of the Society of Jesus to accept these provisions punctually, and in carrying them out the Jesuits shall be treated with the greatest regard, attention, honesty, and assistance, so that in every respect the action taken may be in conformity with my sovereign intentions. You will keep this in mind for its exact fulfillment, as I very confidently expect from your zeal, activity, and love of my royal service; and to this end you will give the necessary orders and instructions, accompanying them with copies of my royal decree, which being signed by you shall be given the same faith and credit as the original."[1]

This decree, bearing the king's rubric, and dated February 27, 1767, was sent to the Count of Aranda, then president of the Council.

With authority conferred by this decree Aranda issued instructions for the removal of the Jesuits from the dominions of the Indies and the Philippine Islands. These instructions were dated March 1, 1767, and conveyed to the

[1] *Coleccion General de las providencias hasta aqui tomadas por el gobierno sobre el estrañamiento y ocupacion de temporalidades de los regulares de la Compañia, que existian en los dominios de S. M. de España, Indios, e Islas Filipinas.* Madrid, 1767, 1, 2.

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viceroys, presidents, and governors the same power that had been bestowed upon Aranda by the royal decree. They made the officials concerned responsible for the execution of the decree, and provided means for conducting the affairs of the missions after the departure of the Jesuits. By these instructions, moreover, the specific directions contained in the instructions of the same date, issued for removing the Jesuits from Spain, were made applicable in the Indies and the Philippine Islands in so far as the circumstances of those countries permitted.

No one has hitherto made an entirely satisfactory exposition of the influences which moved the king to take this action, but it was naturally suggested to him that his royal prestige might be lessened by the increasing wealth, power, and presumption of the society. Clement XIII. wished to know the reasons for the expulsion, but to his inquiry the king replied: "In order to keep from the world a great scandal, I shall conceal in my breast the abominable machination which has been the motive of this severity. Your Holiness must believe me on my word: the security and repose of my existence require of me the most absolute silence on this subject."[2]

On the 20th of March, 1767, Aranda issued a circular letter, enclosing the royal decree of expulsion and detailed instructions for carrying out this decree. These documents were addressed to the magistrates in all the places where the Jesuits had houses. The recipients were required not to open them until a certain fixed day in the future, and in the meantime to communicate to no one the fact that they had been received. It was required that the officers charged with the execution of the royal decree should be assisted by the army, and that care should be exercised to take possession of the houses and colleges of the Jesuits in the early morning and under such conditions as would leave no opportunity for any member of the order to escape. The archives,

[2] See Bauza, *Historia de la Dominacion Española en el Uruguay*, II. 191.

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the libraries, and all kinds of property, except the very few personal effects which the members of the order might retain, should be seized and turned over to the state. To Bucareli, governor of Rio de la Plata, came not only his commission, but also orders to be transmitted to the governor of Chile, the president of the audiencia of Charcas, and the viceroy of Peru.

The night that had been set apart for arresting the Jesuits of Buenos Aires was made almost insupportable by a storm of hail and wind and rain, so that Governor Bucareli, the troops, and all persons who were expected to assist in the undertaking were obliged to remain in the fort from midnight until half past two in the morning. At this hour a company of soldiers was sent to the college of St. Ignatius, commonly known as *Colegio Grande*. The soldiers were accompanied by the governor's secretary, Juan de Berlanga, who was the head of this expedition, and by three assistants. Having entered, they gathered together the thirty-six Jesuits found at the college, and read to them the king's order for their expulsion. The prisoners were kept for eight hours in the apartment of the rector, and were then conducted through the streets, guarded by the troops, to the suburbs near the college of St. Elmo. While the Jesuits were being taken from the Colegio Grande, another commission, supported by a company of soldiers, appeared at the college of St. Elmo, and took the eight inmates who were subject to expulsion, and held them imprisoned with those who had been brought from the other institution.

Early in the morning of July 13, Bucareli published an edict at Buenos Aires, in which he gave notice of the action that had been taken under the royal decree, and ordered that no one, under pain of death, should communicate with the Jesuits in any manner whatsoever, or censure the decree or the measures taken in carrying it out. By the same decree it was also ordered that all persons owing the *padres* anything, or holding anything that belonged to them, should present themselves before the governor within three

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days and declare their indebtedness and the articles which they held.

This unexpected act on the part of the governor and his agents startled the inhabitants of the city; and the closing of the Jesuit church disturbed especially those who had been accustomed to resort to it for worship or confession. The order prohibiting communication between the people and the prisoners was not strictly obeyed, and the governor wrote to the chief of the guard, charging him under no pretext to permit this order to be violated, and requesting him to examine the *padres* one by one and take away from them any paper, ink, pens, or other means of communicating with their friends or adherents in the city.

Montevideo was the first city to learn of the arrest and imprisonment of the Jesuits in Buenos Aires. Travelers arriving from the capital brought information of the execution of the royal decree in that city; and on the 5th of July, an attempt was made in Montevideo to transport the books of the Jesuit library to some other place, apparently to avoid the necessity of turning them over to the government. This plan was, however, defeated, and the next morning the four Jesuits in the city were arrested. Three of them were sent immediately to Buenos Aires, but the superior was held to assist in making out an inventory of the property that was to be confiscated.

A week later, at four o'clock in the morning of July 13, the troops surrounded the Jesuit college of Santa Fé. The officers charged with the execution of the decree of expulsion then rang the bell and called for the rector, and on his appearance they arrested him, together with the porter. The invading party at once distributed themselves throughout the edifice, and gradually gathered all the occupants together and locked them in the refectory. Jesuit writers are naturally disposed to emphasize the commotion made by the inhabitants of the towns when they learned of the action of the officers in carrying out the king's orders. In this case it is reported that "all the people were excited when

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they learned what had happened in the college. A large number of persons assembled in the plaza; some hooted, others wept, and gave themselves over to grief in a manner to excite compassion; while others, having retired to their houses on account of the horror caused by this outrage, bewailed the fate of the Jesuits in secret."[3]

In the afternoon the Jesuits were taken from the college, and, on the same day, after an examination of their effects, they were driven in carriages out of the city. They were held in an open field within sight of the city for a whole day while preparations were made for their transportation to Buenos Aires. On this journey the soldiers were charged to prevent any communication between them and either the inhabitants of the city or of the country through which they passed. Santa Fé contributed to the contingent already at Buenos Aires five priests, one student, and five coadjutors. The rector and the procurador remained for the time being to assist in closing up the affairs of the college.

In contemplating the removal of the Jesuits from Cordova, Bucareli feared that, on account of their number and importance, certain difficulties might arise if the undertaking were left to the officials of the province or of the city. He, therefore, entrusted the task to Major Fernando Fabro, appointed by him and sent from Buenos Aires, accompanied by a detachment of eighty soldiers. It was between three and four o'clock on the morning of the 12th of July when Fabro called at the door of the Colegio Maximo, and asked for the rector. Here, as at other places, the porter was told that the rector was wanted to attend a dying man. When the rector, accompanied by another priest reached the door, they saw that the college was surrounded by soldiers. All the priests were then required to get up, in order that they might hear a communication from the king. They were conducted to the refectory, which they found already occupied by a large number of soldiers, and here a notary read the

[3] *Coleccion de Libros y Documentos referentes á la Historia de America* vii., 76.

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decree of expulsion and confiscation. The priests of the seminary of Monserrat were at the same time aroused and brought to the refectory of the college, where the whole assembly was locked in. Mattresses were brought in for the night, and were placed on the floor, on the tables, under the tables, on chairs, wherever space could be found, yet there were not enough to accommodate the one hundred and thirty Jesuits who were crowded together in this single room. For the day the mattresses were piled up in order to afford standing room and to give the prisoners an opportunity to move about.

For ten days the Jesuits of Cordova were kept in these narrow quarters. On the 22d of July it was announced to them that the time had come for them to depart. Fabro took leave of them and turned them over to Captain Antonio Bobadilla. At nine o'clock in the evening they were conducted from the refectory to the vehicles gathered for their transportation. They took with them only their clothing and their breviaries, and at midnight began their long journey to the port of Ensenada. When they halted for the first night nine miles from the city, they found themselves surrounded by a considerable number of the residents of Cordova, who had come out of the city to take leave of them. Some of these followed the train four or five days.

The thirty-four carts laden with deposed priests, escorted by forty soldiers, and attended by drivers and camp-followers, constituted a considerable caravan that moved over the monotonous plain day after day for nearly a month towards the capital and its adjacent port. The caravan did not enter Buenos Aires, but passed on to Ensenada, leaving the city on the left, four or five miles from the line of march. Two days after their arrival at the port, the Jesuits were embarked, August 20, on the ship *La Venus*.

After Cordova, other cities farther away from Buenos Aires sent their quotas of deposed priests to be added to those already at the capital awaiting transportation to Europe. Fifteen were taken from Corrientes. The distance

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of Asuncion and the known inclination of the governor of Paraguay to favor the Jesuits left uncertain the result in case he had to be trusted with the execution of the royal decree. The king, therefore, appointed two persons to assist the governor, who were known to be hostile to the designs of the Jesuits; their hostility, however, did not prevent them from upholding Governor Morphy in his considerate and humane treatment of the sixteen persons found in the college at Asuncion, who were liable to expulsion under the royal decree. The prisoners were held for three weeks before preparations were complete for their voyage down the river, which was finally begun on the 19th of August.

The college at Tarija was still farther away from the port. It was in a district which was dependent on the audiencia of Charcas, but which belonged to the Jesuit province of Paraguay. The execution of the royal decree there was under the direction of Victorino Martinez de Tineo, the interim president of the audiencia. The persons marked for exile, twelve or fourteen in number, were started on their long journey of twelve hundred miles within twenty-four hours after their arrest, but they were detained a few miles from Tarija from the 24th of August until the 1st of September. Padre Asúa died on the way; the rest of the company reached Buenos Aires on the 27th of December, after an overland journey that lasted nearly four months. Gradually, in the course of the last half of the year, the Jesuits were brought to Buenos Aires from their outlying posts, from Salta, Tucuman, Santiago del Estero, Catamarca, and Rioja. They were brought also from the towns of Cuyo.

Only a month before the publication of the decree of expulsion, a license was granted in Spain which authorized the taking of eighty Jesuit missionaries to America. It is not to be supposed that the plan of banishing the Jesuits was conceived and matured after the granting of this license; it is probable, on the contrary, that wishing to keep the project of expulsion secret, the king was willing to let

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events take their normal or undisturbed course until the arrival of the day for executing the decree. Jesuit missionaries were allowed to embark for America when it was known that they would be arrested and sent back to Europe as soon as they landed. Those who embarked in the *San Fernando* in January were buffeted by the winds and waves for seven months, and arrived at Montevideo on the 26th of July, 1767. Six of them had died after they left Spain, and the remaining thirty-six, exhausted by the want of food and the other hardships of the voyage, came into port signaling for assistance. Their requests were, however, disregarded; and the next day La Rosa, the governor of the province, accompanied by a troop of soldiers, appeared on the vessel, and, having assembled all of the Jesuits on deck, informed them of the decree of expulsion. At the time of this visit, a letter from Bucareli to La Rosa was on its way from Buenos Aires to Montevideo, ordering that in case the Jesuits arrived from Europe they should not under any conditions be allowed to land; but they should be conducted at once to Ensenada, transferred to the frigate, *La Venus*, and returned to Spain. This message did not arrive until the Jesuits had been taken from the ship and shut up in the narrow quarters formerly occupied by the priests who had been sent to Buenos Aires. It is somewhat difficult to determine whether this was a more or less fortunate turn in the affairs of the prisoners than would have been that which Bucareli's order proposed. Towards the end of August, twenty of those who had arrived in July were sent to Ensenada; seven others who were ill were retained some weeks longer in Montevideo, and were dispatched for Buenos Aires on the 17th of November; but they were overtaken by a violent storm and all were drowned.

Before the end of September a large number of the deposed Jesuits had been brought together in Buenos Aires. Some of them had been waiting nearly three months for the completion of preparations for their transportation.

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Counting those who had recently arrived on the *San Fernando* and those who had been taken from posts in the interior of the country, the whole number amounted to two hundred and twenty-four. Of these *La Venus* carried one hundred and fifty, while the rest were distributed among the *San Esteban, El Pájaro, La Catalana,* and *El Principe.* This little fleet sailed from the port of Ensenada on the 29th of September. Its destination was the port of Santa María in the bay of Cadiz. *La Venus* arrived January 7, 1768; *El Pájaro,* January 9; *La Catalana,* January 17; *San Esteban,* February 17; and *El Principe,* March 9. At Santa María the exiles were lodged in the *Hospicio de Misiones,* a house that had belonged to the Jesuits, and that had been occupied by missionaries awaiting opportunity to sail to America. But Santa María was only a halting place, and the prisoners were destined to be passed on to Italian territory. Finding themselves here in the home-country after their experiences in the New World, some of them sought permission to remain by making known their desire to leave the service of the Society. But this was not an acceptable excuse, and they were informed by the minister in charge of the expulsion that it would be necessary for them to go to Italy to obtain their secularization from the pope.

On the 15th of June the exiles sailed for the island of Corsica, where were already assembled Jesuits banished from the Peninsula; but they were permitted to remain here only from the first to the thirty-first of August, when by order of the French they were obliged to abandon the island. After an unsuccessful attempt to settle in the republic of Genoa, they were finally conducted to the States of the Church, where they found a permanent abiding place.

The Jesuits constituting the first contingent sent to Europe from the port of Buenos Aires were taken from the colleges in the towns and cities. There remained the missionaries of the Chaco and Chiquitos, and those who had established themselves among the Guarani Indians in

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Paraguay. In the Chaco there were fifteen missions, or reductions. The action of the officers of the government in arresting the Jesuits of the colleges was known in the reductions before any official communication had reached them. The first effect of this information on the Indians was to inspire them with a desire to abandon the missions and return to their life in the forests. At first some of the missionaries hoped that the decree of expulsion would not be applied to them, but that they would be allowed to remain on account of their influence over the Indians. But this hope did not last long; for Sergeant Major Francisco de Andino soon brought the news that the missionaries were to be taken from the reductions and transported to Buenos Aires. When the Indians received this information, they were greatly disturbed, and renewed their determination to abandon their settlements. They were persuaded with great difficulty to return, and were so thoroughly enraged, as Padre Pauke observed, that, "if I with the help of God and the reasons which He put into my mouth had not succeeded in appeasing my Indians and persuading them to bear their grief, in a short time the city of Santa Fé would have been razed to the ground."

In removing the Jesuits, the commissioner and his assistants turned the missions over to persons who did not belong to the Society. They made a careful inventory of the property, the bulk of which consisted of various classes of animals that had been able to support themselves by grazing on the lands about the reduction. In making the inventory, they found very little money, for in the isolation of the reductions most of the economic transactions had been effected by barter. The six missionaries from San Xavier, San Pedro, and Concepcion were conducted first to Santa Fé, but they were held outside of the city while arrangements were made for transporting them to Buenos Aires. This last stage of the journey lasted from the 6th of September to the 4th of October, and on their arrival they were confined in the quarters formerly occupied by the Jesuits

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who had been sent to Europe. The procedure that was observed in the first reductions, from which the Jesuits were removed, was followed in the others, until each was deprived of its leaders. In all cases the Indians saw the departure of their priests with regret, which often found expression in signs of profound grief.

At Buenos Aires the Jesuits remained imprisoned for several months, suffering not only serious physical hardships but also the grief less easily endured of humiliation and disappointed hopes. Towards the end of March, 1768, the frigate *Esmeralda* arrived from Spain, and on the 6th of May she set sail for the return voyage, having on board one hundred and fifty-one Jesuits. This was the second expedition from this port, and what the exiles suffered can be only imperfectly imagined, even when we think of the crowded condition of the ship and the very inadequate preparations that had been made for the long journey, lasting from the 6th of May to the 22d of August, when they arrived at the port of Santa María. From this port the Germans among the deposed priests were sent to their native country, while the rest were transported directly to Italy, without being subjected to the disagreeable vicissitudes experienced by the members of the first expedition.

There were ten reductions in the territory of the Chiquitos, a region which now forms the southeastern part of Bolivia. The execution of the decree of expulsion was not entrusted to Governor Bucareli, but to the president of the royal audiencia of Charcas. The troops appointed to assist in this undertaking were placed under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Martinez, who at that time had his headquarters in Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and his special mission here was to resist the encroachments of the Portuguese. But in arresting the priests it was not found necessary to use the troops, for the Jesuits were willing to promise obedience to the order of the king. They proposed to make no resistance, and even suggested that the soldiers should be kept away from the reductions, lest their presence should make an unfavorable impression on the neophytes.

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A party of thirteen priests was despatched on the 2d of November; another party of six on the 28th of December; and on the 2d of April, 1768, the rest of the missionaries of the Chiquitos followed their companions to Buenos Aires, or to Spain by some other route. Among the priests of these reductions there were several whose age and infirmities seemed to render it impossible for them to make the long journey without fatal consequences. The commissioner, therefore, wrote to the president of the audiencia for authority to allow them to remain in the country of the Chiquitos until the end of their lives, which was apparently not far off. This request was denied on the ground that the proposed action would be contrary to the royal instructions which prohibited any member of the Society from remaining in the reductions, even on account of age or infirmity. One of those for whom this privilege was sought was Padre Chomé. When the request made by the commissioner had been denied, Chomé was taken from his bed, placed in a hammock, and carried by two strong Indians from San Xavier sixty leagues to Santa Cruz de la Sierra; then for a distance of a hundred leagues to Cochabamba; and finally over the desert and the rough and dangerous paths of the cordillera to Oruro, where his power of endurance failed completely, and he died on the 7th of September, 1768.

Another who was thought unable to endure the hardship of the journey to Spain was Padre Messner. The first stage of his journey was from his post to Santa Cruz de la Sierra, one hundred and twelve leagues. Messner reached Santa Cruz de la Sierra rather dead than alive, and had to wait here five months for the snow to disappear from the mountains. The continuance of the journey from this point, over the mountains and across the bleak and barren plateau, was exhausting even to a person in robust health, and was almost more than one could stand who was burdened with illness and old age. It was, moreover, rendered more fatiguing by the determination of the conductor of the expedition to push on as rapidly as possible, whatever might be

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the state of the way. On the mountains between Oruro and Tacna, the aged priest asked that he might be allowed to halt and rest. His petition was not granted, but a man was detailed to walk by the side of his horse and hold him, in order that he might not fall from his saddle. They had, however, advanced only a short distance in this way when the aide found that the priest was dead. Another priest whose course was almost run was Padre Pallozzi. He was taken over nearly the same route as the others to Arica; then from Arica to Callao and Panama; and on arriving at Porto Bello he found himself exhausted, and died there December 21, 1768. And yet, the commissioner who ordered these things was frequently accused of being a partisan of the Jesuits, and too lenient to perform properly the duties of his post.

By the middle of May, 1768, the Jesuits had been despatched from all the stations in the provinces of Rio de la Plata, except from the celebrated Misiones of the Guaranis in Paraguay. The reports that had been circulated, representing these reductions as usurpers of powers which belonged properly to the king, and as in rebellion against the authority of the sovereign, led the governor to proceed with great caution. He summoned the Provincial to Buenos Aires, but later countermanded the order, and requested him to return to Yapeyú from Bojada, the present city of Paraná. He also requested that the Indian corregidor of each of the thirty reductions should be sent to the capital, accompanied by thirty of the principal caciques. These sixty influential Indians were detained about a year in Buenos Aires, and it was apparently desired that they should hold and express views that would justify the contemplated action with respect to the reductions. When it was supposed that they had been sufficiently turned against the Jesuits, they were induced to write a joint letter to the king, showing their enthusiasm for the governor, and expressing their thanks for their prospective relief from slavery. It has been suggested that they would probably

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not have manifested such satisfaction with the governor if they had known that they were held as hostages for the peaceful conduct of the Indians they represented.

The governor delayed the execution of the decree of expulsion for about a year, and during this time the corregidores were induced to write other letters to the Indians of their reductions, with a view of creating a prejudice among them against the priests. The position of the Jesuits during this period was sufficiently difficult even without the intrigues of the authorities at Buenos Aires; for it was known that they were to be removed, and this knowledge tended to destroy their prestige with the Indians. They felt compelled, however, to counsel the Indians to submit to the proposed action of the government, which everybody knew was hostile to the system of the missions.

Besides the time required for carefully preparing for the change, the difficulty of obtaining secular priests as substitutes for the Jesuits, was another reason for the delay. Finally, on the 24th of May, Governor Bucareli left Buenos Aires, proceeding to Misiones to provide for the removal of the Jesuits. He made extensive military preparations for overcoming any resistance that might appear on the part of the Indians; but these preparations were proved by the events to have been unnecessary. On the 15th of July he arrived within a league of Yapeyú, and sent a commissioner to the reduction to bring the decree of expulsion officially to the attention of the provincial and any other Jesuits who might be there. The commissioner in this instance was Dr. Antonio Aldao, who had acted in the same capacity in expelling the Jesuits from Cordova. The ordinary procedure was observed here, including a notification in the prescribed form, the taking of an inventory of all the property belonging to the reduction, or pueblo, the church as well as the workshops and the warehouses. The objects contained in the church were turned over to the new priest, and the other items of property were put in charge of an administrator, one being appointed for each

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of the pueblos from which the Jesuits were removed. During these events Bucareli remained a short distance from the pueblo, wishing to enter only after the departure of the Jesuits. "Finally, he entered the pueblo with all the ostentation possible, and remained there ten days, seeking to please the Indians and gain their confidence."[4]

From Yapeyú, the first of the reductions, or pueblos, in which the decree of expulsion was executed, the process was carried to each of the other pueblos, and by the 22d of August they had all been occupied and the new masters installed. The number of Jesuits deposed in these thirty pueblos and sent down to Buenos Aires was seventy-eight. After their arrival in the capital, they were held imprisoned until they were despatched for Spain, on the 8th of December. The voyage lasted four months, and on the 7th of April, 1769, they reached Cadiz, and a little later were transferred to the port of Santa María. In Santa María they were confined in the house of the Augustinians and the hospital of San Juan, and they remained there somewhat more than a year. During this period the provincial, Padre Manuel Vergara, was added to the long list of those who died going into exile. In all the province of Paraguay only one Jesuit remained. He was Padre Segismundo Aperger, who was left there because he could not be removed, since he was confined to his bed, burdened with the weight of nearly ninety years, paralyzed and moribund.

One of the problems of the expulsion of the Jesuits was to find where they would be received and permitted to remain. The attempts to establish them in Corsica and Genoa were unsuccessful, and it was finally decided that they should be taken to the papal states. In making this decision Charles III., it is said, pretended to rule the states of the supreme pontiff with the same authority as that which he exercised in his own dominions. Thus, without soliciting beforehand the consent of the pope, or giving notice of his intention, he sent to the papal states the six thousand Spanish subjects whom he had expelled from Spain and the

[4] *Coleccion de Libros y Documentos* vii., 212.

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American colonies, ordering his captains to disembark them at ports of these states. By the royal ordinance of April 2, 1767, he, moreover, declared that if any Jesuit should leave the states of the church, the pension that had been assigned to him would be discontinued.[5] The papal states were thus their prison, but the authorities of the church were not pleased to be made their keepers. Their view was that if the Jesuits were innocent of any offense, there existed no ground for expelling them as pernicious; if they were bad, one might not assume that the pope should punish them, but that they ought to have been punished in the dominions of the king.[6]

On the arrival of the Jesuits, it was not thought advisable to incorporate them in the established organization, but to assign them to the provinces of Emilia and Romagna, where they might be maintained without great inconvenience. Those from Paraguay were sent to the cities of Faenza, Ravena, and Brisighella. At Faenza they received special attention from the priests of the Jesuit college in that city; and some of them accepted an invitation from Count Cantoni to occupy a house owned by him in the country.

Before the end of 1769, all of the banished Spanish Jesuits found themselves in the northern part of the papal states, and here some of them attempted to reorganize the instruction which had been interrupted in America by their expulsion. The source of their support, aside from the donations received, was a small pension of about a hundred dollars a year, paid by the Spanish government from the property of the Jesuits that had been confiscated. But all their resources were inadequate for their proper maintenance, so that, as it was said, if they clothed themselves, there was nothing left for food; and if they ate, there was nothing left for clothing.

Those persons among the exiles who turned their attention to instruction found pupils without going outside their

[5] *Coleccion de Libros y Documentos*, vii., 242.

[6] *Coleccion de Libros y Documentos*, vii., 243.

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own ranks; for a considerable number of novices had followed their superiors. They had refused to accept the conditions under which they might have remained in America. These conditions were embraced in the instructions of Aranda to the commissioners charged with carrying out the decree of expulsion. The tenth section of these instructions provided that if any novices were found in the novitiates, or houses, who had not already taken their religious vows, they should be immediately removed in order that they might have no communication with the rest, and should be taken to a private house, where they might enjoy full liberty, have knowledge of the perpetual expatriation that had been imposed upon the members of the Society, and decide freely according to their inclinations, without being influenced by the commissioner, whether to return to secular life or accept the fate of the exiles. But they were made to understand that in going with those who were expelled they would receive no pension, and their expatriation would be perpetual. The government was evidently desirous of having the novices abandon their plan to enter the order of the Jesuits; but the youths, with the zeal of new converts, were not easily moved, and, for the larger part, went with their teachers to Italy, and here under the newly organized instruction had an opportunity to continue their studies.

One of the consequences of the removal of the Jesuits from Rio de la Plata was to deprive the world of much information concerning the early events of that region. Some manuscripts were lost and others were never written that would have been written if the members of the Society had been permitted to continue their work undisturbed. Still a small number of the exiles maintained an interest in subjects connected with the country of their earlier labors. Among these there were four noteworthy foreigners, men not of Spanish stock. Martin Dobrizhoffer, an Austrian, went to Paraguay in 1748, and was a missionary among the Guaranis eleven years, and among the Abipones for seven years. At Vienna he wrote a *History of the Abipones,* which

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was published in Latin in 1784. It was subsequently translated into German, and in 1822 an abridged translation in English was published in London. Florian Pauke went to Paraguay with Father Dobrizhoffer in 1748. He was a missionary in the Chaco for fifteen years. An extract from his writings was published in Vienna in 1829, called *Pater Florian Pauke's Reise.* In 1870 practically the whole of his manuscript was published with the title of *Pater Florian Paucke, ein Jesuit in Paraguay.* Thomas Falkner, an Englishman born in Manchester in 1707, arrived in Paraguay in 1732. He returned to England after his expulsion from Rio de la Plata, and in 1774 published *A Description of Patagonia and the Adjoining Parts of South America.* Other manuscripts by him related to anatomy and the natural history of America. The fourth of this group was Ladislaus Orosz, an Hungarian. In 1727, at the age of thirty, he went to Rio de la Plata, taught Philosophy and Theology in Cordova, and, after his expulsion, returned to his native province of Tyrnau, where he died in 1773. Two principal manuscripts are ascribed to him. The first was *Decades quatuor virorum illustrium Paraquariae.* This was printed in Tyrnau in 1759, and made a folio volume of five hundred and fifty-two pages. The other work was called *Decades quatuor aliae virorum illustrium Paraquariae,* and was probably never printed.[1]

There is a longer list of writers among the exiles who had been sent to America from the Peninsula, or who were born in America. The most important of these were the Padres Cardiel, Quiroga, Jolío, Peramás, Muriel, Sanchez, Labrador, Guevara, and Juarez. The more important of their contributions are Cardiel's *Breve relacion de las Misiones Guaranies;* Quinoga's *Diario* of his journeys; Jolío's *Saggio sulla storia naturale della provincia del Gran Ciaco;* Peramás's *Vidas de varones ilustres* and *Annus patiens,* the latter consisting of a diary of the journey of

[1] Pablo Hernandez writes of these two works as "*obras que deben contener preciosas noticias, y son, sin embargo, enteramente desconocidas.*" See *Coleccion de Libros y Documentos,* vii., 305.

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the exiles from Cordova; Labrador's *Viajes* and *Historia de los regiones del Rio de la Plata;* Juarez's *Historia eclesiastica del Virreinato de Buenos Aires,* and his *Historia natural* of the same region; Guevara's *Historia del Paraguay, Rio de la Plata y Tucuman.* A few of these works have been printed, but the bulk of them either exist in manuscript or have been lost.

Another consequence of the expulsion of the Jesuits was the interruption of an interesting experiment in controlling savages. Many experiments made with this end in view have underestimated the conservative force of the traditions of savage life, and consequently overestimated the capability of the savage for immediate improvement, or progress towards civilization. Persons making this mistake are disposed to condemn the plan of the Jesuits, because its ideal for the condition of the Indian was not sufficiently high; whereas a large number of the projects of civilized society for improving the condition of savages have produced unsatisfactory results largely because they have required too great immediate changes in the status of the uncivilized man. The Indian in the territory of the United States was doomed by the fact that we provided no way for a slow rise from savagism; practically his only alternatives were either to accept the Englishman's standard of civilization or to move on and disappear with the wilderness. He was not able to avail himself of the first of these alternatives, and the second, under the circumstances, was his inevitable fate.

The great merit of the Jesuits' plan in Paraguay was that it made no considerable change in the Indian's condition; it aimed simply to give him a settled life and regular activity, a sufficiently long first step upward. In a thousand years of this slow process was apparently the only prospect of counteracting the Indian's inheritance of barbarism, and bringing him to the status of civilized man. The expulsion of the Jesuits brought to naught this experiment of a superior race entering, in isolation, upon the systematic tute-

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lage of an inferior race. In time of continuance the experiment fell far short of the necessary thousand years, and for this reason all opinions concerning what might have been its result are more or less speculative.

The official who was sent to Chile by Bucareli to carry to the governor the king's decree of expulsion and Aranda's instructions, arrived at Santiago on the 7th of August, 1767. Guill y Gonzaga, the governor, was embarrassed by the orders which these papers contained. "Weak in character, ill, fanatically devoted to the church, a decided partisan of the Jesuits, among whom he had sought his confessor and spiritual counsellor, he was nevertheless obliged to carry out against them a rigid and severe order which antagonized his beliefs and his most firmly grounded sentiments."[8] The governor was authorized, in case the Jesuits should offer resistance, to use such force as might be necessary to procure an immediate execution of the decree. Although knowledge of the orders of the king and of the instructions of Aranda was kept from the people, yet when it was seen that the troops were preparing for action a rumor became current that they were to be used against the Jesuits. Precautions were also taken to prevent the Jesuits from escaping from the country. Sentinels were placed in the passes of the Andes, and the two ships in the harbor of Valparaiso were ordered not to leave port without the governor's permission; and the governor sent sealed instructions to his subordinates throughout the colony. These instructions were not to be opened before a prescribed date. The 26th of August, a few hours before dawn, was the time fixed for carrying out the decree of expulsion in all parts of Chile. The first house of the Jesuits visited in Santiago by Juan de Balmaseda, acting as commissioner for the government, was the *Colegio Maximo de San Miguel,* which occupied the present site of the palace of Congress. Sentinels were placed at all of the doors, and the commissioner then presented himself at the principal entrance, gave three

[8] Barros Arana, *Historia Jeneral de Chile,* vi., 268.

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heavy strokes on the door, and ordered in the name of the king that the door should be opened without delay. The rector of the college, Francisco de Madariaga, received the commissioner respectfully, offered no opposition to the execution of the royal order, and immediately called all the other officers of the college to assemble in the chapel. There were eighty-two of them. The decree of expulsion having been read, the rector handed to Balmaseda the keys of the house, which gave him access to all the property, books and papers of the college. In the course of the forenoon the Jesuits from the other establishments in the city and from neighboring estates arrived and were added to those who at the college had already been placed under arrest. Soldiers were stationed not only in the streets about the building, but they guarded also the several entrances, and in the building itself kept watch at the doors of the apartments occupied by the rector and the other members of the order.

At other points in Chile where there were Jesuits, the royal decree was carried out with the same severity and at practically the same hour. From the northern and the southern districts, during the next few weeks, the Jesuits were taken to Valparaiso, and held there under guard awaiting transportation to Europe. The fourteen members of the order and three coadjutors in the province of Cuyo, as already indicated, were sent to Buenos Aires to be added to those gathered there from the provinces of Rio de la Plata. Although the removal of the Jesuits from their places in Chile caused serious regrets and lamentations among a very large part of the inhabitants, yet no resistance was made to the authorities commissioned to execute the king's decree.

The first step in this remarkable undertaking was to arrest the Jesuits of Chile and to bring them into the hands of the governmental authorities. It then devolved upon the governor to find some means of transporting them to Europe. The governor's first project was to make use of a vessel, *El Rosario,* then lying in the harbor of Valparaiso;

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but on account of difficulties raised by the owner, this plan had to be abandoned. Finally, by a letter from the viceroy of Peru, the governor was informed that a warship, *El Peruano,* would arrive at Valparaiso at the end of October, and that Jesuits might be embarked on this vessel and taken around Cape Horn to their destination. In the meantime the task of assembling the exiles at the port remained to be completed. In Santiago there were one hundred marked for deportation. At two o'clock on the morning of the 23d of October, these, under the direction of the corregidor, Luis Manuel de Zañartu, were marched through the dark and silent streets of the city to the suburbs, where horses had been brought together for their use on the journey to the coast. They arrived in Valparaiso after a ride of eight days. Here they found themselves united with other members of the order, who had been brought in from other parts of Chile, making in all a company of about three hundred persons. A few of the Jesuits of Santiago had been left in the city on account of age and sickness, and seven had escaped on the journey to Valparaiso.

The ship, *El Peruano,* expected at the end of October, did not arrive in Valparaiso until the 30th of November. There were on board five hundred persons, of whom one hundred and eighty-one were Jesuits expelled from Peru. The order of the viceroy provided that the ship should not remain at Valparaiso more than three days for embarking the Jesuits of Chile. But it was found to be necessary to remain in port for a much longer period. The vessel needed repairs; about one hundred of the Jesuits brought from Peru had not suitable clothing, and a new supply had to be obtained in Chile; and the food provided for the voyage was inadequate and unfit for use. It was found, moreover, that the ship could receive only a few persons in addition to those who had embarked on it at Callao. Five of those who had arrived from the north had to be left at Valparaiso on account of serious illness, and place was found for only twenty-four of the three hundred Jesuits in Chile. The

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rest were left in Valparaiso; and early in January, 1768, *El Peruano* set sail on her long voyage to Europe. One of those left behind wrote: "We flattered ourselves always with the hope that the king would again regard us with favor, and permit us to remain in our former state; we prayed without ceasing; we directed ourselves now to the Holy Virgin, now to our blessed founder and to other saints. But our prayers were not heard. As there was no other Spanish ship in the port, we were embarked at the beginning of Lent in three Chilean vessels and taken to Lima."[9] Those who had been left at different points in Chile for various reasons, were in the course of the following months deported, so that in 1772 the governor was able to report to Aranda that no Jesuit remained within the limits of the territory under his jurisdiction. Of those who were sent from Chile to Lima, one hundred and twenty were shipped to Italy by way of Cape Horn, and the rest went by way of Panama. The exiles from Chile, as well as those from Rio de la Plata, received from the Spanish crown an annual pension of one hundred dollars, under conditions similar to those that had been imposed upon Jesuits expelled from other parts of Spanish territory.

[9] Quoted by Barros Arana, vi., 285.

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THE CLOUD-MESSENGER.

A POEM IN TWO CLOUDS, BY KALIDASA.

TRANSLATED BY ARTHUR W. RYDER.

INTRODUCTION.

Kalidasa is the most famous author of ancient India. Both in his own country and in the West, his works are more widely read than those of any other man who wrote in Sanskrit. It may reasonably be questioned, to be sure, whether he is India's greatest poet; but there can be no doubt that he is the Indian poet who appeals to the widest circle of readers. In sweet simplicity, in delicacy of sentiment and expression, in healthy charm, he is not surpassed by any of his compatriots; and in bulk of writing and versatility he surpasses almost every one. Sanskrit poets in general elaborate their work with such painstaking minuteness that their writing is necessarily meager in bulk; but Kalidasa has left, in addition to the Cloud-Messenger, three dramas, two epic poems, and a poem on the seasons. He is best known, no doubt, as the author of the Shakuntala, a drama of exquisite charm; yet his other writings deserve a share of attention.

Especially is this true of the Cloud-Messenger, a poem which, in India at least, is without rival in its peculiar *genre*. It has a slight and fanciful plot. A demigod, in consequence of some transgression against his master, the god of wealth, is condemned to leave his home in

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the Himalayas, and spend a year of exile on a peak in the Vindhya Mountains, which divide the Deccan from the Ganges basin. He wishes to comfort and encourage his wife, but has no messenger to send her. In his despair, he begs a passing cloud to carry his words. He finds it necessary to describe the long journey which the cloud must take, and, as the two termini are skilfully chosen, the journey involves a visit to many of the spots famous in Indian story. The description of these spots fills the first half of the poem. The second half is filled with a more minute description of the heavenly city, of the home and bride of the demigod, and with the message proper. The proportions of the poem may appear unfortunate to the Western reader, in whom the proper names of the first half will wake scanty associations. Indeed, it is no longer possible to identify all the places mentioned, though the general route followed by the cloud can be easily traced. The peak from which he starts is probably one near the modern Nagpore. From this peak he flies a little west of north to the Nerbudda River, and the city of Ujjain; thence pretty straight north to the upper Ganges and the Himalaya. The geography of Mount Kailasa and the magic city of Alaka is quite mythical.

The Cloud-Messenger contains one hundred and fifteen four-line stanzas, in a majestic metre called the "slow-stepper." The English stanza which has been chosen for the translation gives perhaps as fair a representation of the original movement as may be, where direct imitation is out of the question. Though the stanza of the translation has five lines to four for the slow-stepper, it contains fewer syllables; a constant check on the temptation to padding. While absolute literalness is hardly attainable in the case of translation into a complex stanza, yet nothing has been wilfully added or subtracted in the English version.

The marginal analysis which accompanies the poem has more than one object. It saves foot-notes; it is intended as a real help to comprehension; and it is an eminently Hindu

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device. Indeed, it was my first intention to translate literally portions of Mallinatha's famous commentary; and though this did not prove everywhere feasible, there is nothing in the marginal analysis except matter suggested by the commentary.

One minor point calls for notice. The word Himálaya has been accented on the second syllable wherever it occurs. This accent is historically correct, and has some foothold in English usage; besides, it is more euphonious and better adapted to the needs of the metre.

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FORMER CLOUD.

I.

A Yaksha, or divine attendant on Kubera, god of wealth, is exiled for a year from his home in the Himalayas. As he dwells on a peak in the Vindhya range, half India separates him from his young bride.

On Rama's shady peak where hermits roam,
Mid streams by Sita's bathing sanctified,
An erring Yaksha made his hapless home,
Doomed by his master humbly to abide,
And spend a long, long year of absence from his bride.

II.

After eight months of growing emaciation, the first cloud warns him of the approach of the rainy season, when neglected brides are wont to pine and die.

Some months were gone; the lonely lover's pain
Had loosed his golden bracelet day by day
Ere he beheld the harbinger of rain,
A cloud that charged the peak in mimic fray,
As an elephant attacks a bank of earth in play.

III.

Before this cause of lovers' hopes and fears
Long time Kubera's bondman sadly bowed
In meditation, choking down his tears—
Even happy hearts thrill strangely to the cloud;
To him, poor wretch, the loved embrace was disallowed.

IV.

Unable to send tidings otherwise of his health and unchanging love, he resolves to make the cloud his messenger.

Longing to save his darling's life, unblest
With joyous tidings, through the rainy days,
He plucked fresh blossoms for his cloudy guest,
Such homage as a welcoming comrade pays,
And bravely spoke brave words of greeting and of praise.

V.

Nor did it pass the lovelorn Yaksha's mind
How all unfitly might his message mate
With a cloud, mere fire and water, smoke and wind—
Ne'er yet was lover could discriminate
Twixt life and lifeless things, in his love-blinded state.

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VI.

I know, he said, thy far-famed princely line ,
Thy state, in heaven's imperial council chief,
Thy changing forms; to thee, such fate is mine,
I come a suppliant in my widowed grief—
Better thy lordly "no" than meaner souls' relief.

He prefers his request,

VII.

O cloud, the parching spirit stirs thy pity;
My bride is far, through royal wrath and might;
Bring her my message to the Yaksha city,
Rich-gardened Alaka, where radiance bright
From Shiva's crescent bathes the palaces in light.

VIII.

When thou art risen to airy paths of heaven,
Through lifted curls the wanderer's love shall peep
And bless the sight of thee for comfort given;
Who leaves his bride through cloudy days to weep
Except he be like me, whom chains of bondage keep?

hinting at the same time that the cloud will find his kindly labor rewarded by pleasures on the road,

IX.

While favoring breezes waft thee gently forth,
And while upon thy left the plover sings
His proud, sweet song, the cranes who know thy worth
Will meet thee in the sky on joyful wings
And for delights anticipated join their rings.

and by happy omens.

X.

Yet hasten, O my brother, till thou see—
Counting the days that bring the lonely smart—
The faithful wife who only lives for me:
A drooping flower is woman's loving heart,
Upheld by the stem of hope when two true lovers part.

He assures the cloud that his bride is neither dead nor faithless;

XI.

And when they hear thy welcome thunders break,
When mushrooms sprout to greet thy fertile weeks,
The swans who long for the Himalayan lake
Will be thy comrades to Kailasa's peaks,
With juicy bits of lotus-fibre in their beaks.

further, that there will be no lack of traveling companions.

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XII.

One last embrace upon this mount bestow
Whose flanks were pressed by Rama's holy feet,
Who yearly strives his love for thee to show,
Warmly his well-belovèd friend to greet
With the tear of welcome shed when two long-parted meet.

XIII.

He then describes the long journey,

Learn first, O cloud, the road that thou must go,
Then hear my message ere thou speed away;
Before thee mountains rise and rivers flow:
When thou art weary, on the mountains stay,
And when exhausted, drink the rivers' driven spray.

XIV.

beginning with the departure from Rama's peak, where dwells a company of Siddhas, divine beings of extraordinary sanctity.

Elude the heavenly elephants' clumsy spite;
Fly from this peak in richest jungle drest;
And Siddha maids who view thy northward flight
Will upward gaze in simple terror, lest
The wind be carrying quite away the mountain crest.

XV.

Bright as a heap of flashing gems, there shines
Before thee on the ant-hill, Indra's bow;
Matched with that dazzling rainbow's glittering lines,
Thy somber form shall find its beauties grow,
Like the dark herdsman Vishnu, with peacock-plumes aglow.

XVI.

The Mala plateau.

The farmers' wives on Mala's lofty lea,
Though innocent of all coquettish art,
Will give thee loving glances; for on thee
Depends the fragrant furrow's fruitful part;
Thence, barely westering, with lightened burden start.

XVII.

The Mango Peak.

The Mango Peak whose forest fires were laid
By streams of thine, will soothe thy weariness;
In memory of a former service paid,
Even meaner souls spurn not in time of stress
A suppliant friend; a soul so lofty, much the less.

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XVIII.

With ripened mango-fruits his margins teem;
And thou, like wetted braids, art blackness quite;
When resting on the mountain, thou wilt seem
Like the dark nipple on Earth's bosom white,
For mating gods and goddesses a thrilling sight.

XIX.

His bowers are sweet to forest maidens ever;
Do thou upon his crest a moment bide,
Then fly, rain-quickened, to the Reva river
Which gaily breaks on Vindhya's rocky side,
Like painted streaks upon an elephant's dingy hide.

The Reva, or Nerbudda River, foaming against the mountain side,

XX.

Where thick rose-apples make the current slow,
Refresh thyself from thine exhausted state
With ichor-pungent drops that fragrant flow;
Thou shalt not then to every wind vibrate—
Empty means ever light, and full means added weight.

and flavored with the ichor which exudes from the temples of elephants during the mating season.

XXI.

Spying the madder on the banks, half brown,
Half green with shoots that struggle to the birth,
Nibbling where early plantain-buds hang down,
Scenting the sweet, sweet smell of forest earth,
The deer will trace thy misty track that ends the dearth.

XXII.

Though thou be pledged to ease my darling's pain,
Yet I foresee delay on every hill
Where jasmines blow, and where the peacock-train
Cries forth with joyful tears a welcome shrill;
Thy sacrifice is great, but haste thy journey still.

XXIII.

At thine approach, Dasharna land is blest
With hedgerows where gay buds are all aglow,
With village trees alive with many a nest
Abuilding by the old familiar crow,
With lingering swans, with ripe rose-apples' darker show.

The Dasharna country,

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XXIV.

and its capital Vidisha, on the banks of Reed River.

There shalt thou see the royal city, known
Afar, and win the lover's fee complete,
If thou subdue thy thunders to a tone
Of murmurous gentleness, and taste the sweet,
Love-rippling features of the river at thy feet.

XXV.

A moment rest on Nichais' mountain then,
Where madder-bushes don their blossom coat
As thrilling to thy touch; where city men
O'er youth's unbridled pleasures fondly gloat
In caverns whence the perfumes of gay women float.

XXVI.

Fly on refreshed; and sprinkle buds that fade
On jasmine-vines in gardens wild and rare
By forest rivers; and with loving shade
Caress the flower-girls' heated faces fair,
Whereon the lotuses droop withering from their hair.

XXVII.

The famous old city of Ujjain, the home of the poet, and dearly beloved by him;

Swerve from thy northern path; for westward rise
The palace balconies thou mayst not slight
In fair Ujjain; and if bewitching eyes
That flutter at thy gleams, should not delight
Thine amorous bosom, useless were thy gift of sight.

XXVIII.

and the river, personified as a loving woman, whom the cloud will meet just before he reaches the city.

The neighboring mountain stream that gliding grants
A glimpse of charms in whirling eddies pursed,
While noisy swans accompany her dance
Like a tinkling zone, will slake thy loving thirst—
A woman always tells her love in gestures first.

XXIX.

Thou only, happy lover! canst repair
The desolation that thine absence made:
Her shrinking current seems the careless hair
That brides deserted wear in single braid,
And dead leaves falling give her face a paler shade.

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XXX.

The city of Ujjain is fully described,

Oh, fine Ujjain! Gem to Avanti given,
Where village ancients tell their tales of mirth
And old romance! Oh, radiant bit of heaven,
Home of a blest celestial band whose worth
Sufficed, though fallen from heaven, to bring down
heaven on earth!

XXXI.

Where the river-breeze at dawn, with fragrant
gain
From friendly lotus-blossoms, lengthens out
The clear, sweet passion-warbling of the crane,
To cure the women's languishing, and flout
With a lover's coaxing all their hesitating doubt.

XXXII.

Enriched with odors through the windows drifting
From perfumed hair, and greeted as a friend
By peacock pets their wings in dances lifting,
On flower-sweet balconies thy labor end,
Where prints of dear pink feet an added glory lend.

XXXIII.

especially its famous shrine to Shiva, called Mahakala;

Black as the neck of Shiva, very God,
Dear therefore to his hosts, thou mayest go
To his dread shrine, round which the gardens nod
When breezes rich with lotus-pollen blow
And ointments that the gaily bathing maidens know.

XXXIV.

Reaching that temple at another time,
Wait till the sun is lost to human eyes;
For if thou mayest play the part sublime
Of Shiva's drum at evening sacrifice,
Then hast thou in thy thunders grave a priceless
prize.

XXXV.

The women there, whose girdles long have tinkled
In answer to the dance, whose hands yet seize
And wave their fans with lustrous gems be-
sprinkled,
Will feel thine early drops that soothe and please,
And recompense thee from black eyes like clustering
bees.

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XXXVI.

and the black cloud, painted with twilight red, is bidden to serve as a robe for the god, instead of the bloody elephant hide which he commonly wears in his wild dance.

Clothing thyself in twilight's rose-red glory,
Embrace the dancing Shiva's tree-like arm;
He will prefer thee to his mantle gory
And spare his grateful goddess-bride's alarm,
Whose eager gaze will manifest no fear of harm.

XXXVII.

After one night of repose in the city,

Where women steal to rendezvous by night
Through darkness that a needle might divide,
Show them the road with lightning-flashes bright
As golden streaks upon the touchstone's side—
But rain and thunder not, lest they be terrified.

XXXVIII.

On some rich balcony where sleep the doves,
Through the dark night with thy belovèd stay,
The lightning weary with the sport she loves;
But with the sunrise journey on thy way—
For they that labor for a friend do not delay.

XXXIX.

The gallant dries his mistress' tears that stream
When he returns at dawn to her embrace—
Prevent thou not the sun's bright-fingered beam
That wipes the tear-dew from the lotus' face;
His anger else were great, and great were thy disgrace.

XL.

the cloud is besought to travel to Deep River.

Thy winsome shadow-soul will surely find
An entrance in Deep River's current bright,
As thoughts find entrance in a placid mind;
Then let no rudeness of thine own affright
The darting fish that seem her glances lotus-white.

XLI.

But steal her somber veil of mist away,
Although her reeds seem hands that clutch the dress
To hide her charms; thou hast no time to stay,
Yet who that once has known a dear caress
Could bear to leave a woman's unveiled loveliness?

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XLII.

Thence to Holy Peak,

The breeze 'neath which the breathing acre grants
New odors, and the forest figs hang sleek,
With pleasant whistlings drunk by elephants
Through long and hollow trunks, will gently seek
To waft thee onward fragrantly to Holy Peak.

XLIII.

the dwelling-place of Skanda, god of war, the child of Shiva and Gauri, concerning whose birth more than one quaint tale is told.

There change thy form; become a cloud of flowers
With heavenly moisture wet, and pay the meed
Of praise to Skanda with thy blossom showers;
That sun-outshining god is Shiva's seed,
Fire-born to save the heavenly hosts in direst need.

XLIV.

God Skanda's peacock—he whose eyeballs shine
By Shiva's moon, whose flashing fallen plume
The god's fond mother wears, a gleaming line
Over her ear beside the lotus bloom—
Will dance to thunders echoing in the caverns' room.

XLV.

Thence to Skin River, so called because it flowed forth from a mountain of cattle carcasses, offered in sacrifice by the pious emperor Rantideva.

Adore the reed-born god and speed away,
While Siddhas flee, lest rain should put to shame
The lutes which they devoutly love to play;
But pause to glorify the stream whose name
Recalls the sacrificing emperor's blessèd fame.

XLVI.

Narrow the river seems from heaven's blue;
And gods above, who see her dainty line
Matched, when thou drinkest, with thy darker hue,
Will think they see a pearly necklace twine
Round Earth, with one great sapphire in its midst ashine.

XLVII.

The province of the Ten Cities.

Beyond, the province of Ten Cities lies
Whose women, charming with their glances rash,
Will view thine image with bright, eager eyes,
Dark eyes that dance beneath the lifted lash,
As when black bees round nodding jasmine-blossoms flash.

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XLVIII.

The Hallowed Land, where were fought the awful battles of the ancient epic time.

Then veil the Hallowed Land in cloudy shade;
Visit the field where to this very hour
Lie bones that sank beneath the soldier's blade,
Where Arjuna discharged his arrowy shower
On men, as thou thy rain-jets on the lotus-flower.

XLIX.

In these battles, the hero Balarama, whose weapon was a plough-share, would take no part, because kinsmen of his were fighting in each army. He preferred to spend the time in drinking from the holy river Sarasvati, though little accustomed to any other drink than wine.

Sweet friend, drink where those holy waters shine
Which the plough-bearing hero—loath to fight
His kinsmen—rather drank than sweetest wine
With a loving bride's reflected eyes alight;
Then, though thy form be black, thine inner soul is bright.

L.

The Ganges River, which originates in heaven. Its fall is broken by the head of Shiva, who stands on the Himalaya Mountains; otherwise the shock would be too great for the earth. But Shiva's goddess-bride is displeased.

Fly then where Ganges o'er the king of mountains
Falls like a flight of stairs from heaven let down
For the sons of men; she hurls her billowy fountains
Like hands to grasp the moon on Shiva's crown
And laughs her foamy laugh at Gauri's jealous frown.

LI.

The dark cloud is permitted to mingle with the clear stream of Ganges, as the muddy Jumna River does near the city now called Allahabad.

If thou, like some great elephant of the sky,
Shouldst wish from heaven's eminence to bend
And taste the crystal stream, her beauties high—
As thy dark shadows with her whiteness blend—
Would be what Jumna's waters at Prayaga lend.

LII.

The magnificent Himalaya range.

Her birth-place is Himalaya's rocky crest
Whereon the scent of musk is never lost,
For deer rest ever there where thou wilt rest
Somber against the peak with whiteness glossed,
Like dark earth by the snow-white bull of Shiva tossed.

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LIII.

If, born from friction of the deodars,
A scudding fire should prove the mountain's bane,
Singeing the tails of yaks with fiery stars,
Quench thou the flame with countless streams of rain—
The great have power that they may soothe distress and pain.

LIV.

If mountain monsters should assail thy path
With angry leaps that of their object fail,
Only to hurt themselves in helpless wrath,
Scatter the creatures with thy pelting hail—
For who is not despised that strives without avail?

LV.

Bend lowly down and move in reverent state
Round Shiva's foot-print on the rocky plate
With offerings laden by the saintly great;
The sight means heaven as their eternal fate
When death and sin are past, for them that faithful wait.

LVI.

The breeze is piping on the bamboo-tree;
And choirs of heaven sing in union sweet
O'er demon foe of Shiva's victory;
If thunders in the caverns drumlike beat,
Then surely Shiva's symphony will be complete.

LVII.

Pass by the wonders of the snowy slope;
Through the Swan-gate, through mountain masses rent
To make his fame a path by Bhrigu's hope
In long, dark beauty fly, still northward bent,
Like Vishnu's foot, when he sought the demon's chastisement.

The mountain pass called the Swan-gate.

LVIII.

Seek then Kailasa's hospitable care,
With peaks by magic arms asunder riven,
To whom, as mirror, goddesses repair,
So lotus-bright his summits cloud the heaven,
Like form and substance to God's daily laughter given.

And at Mount Kailasa, the long journey is ended;

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LIX.

Like powder black and soft I seem to see
Thine outline on the mountain slope as bright
As new-sawn tusks of stainless ivory;
No eye could wink before as fair a sight
As dark-blue robes upon the Ploughman's shoulder white.

LX.

Should Shiva throw his serpent-ring aside
And give Gauri his hand, go thou before
Upon the mount of joy to be their guide;
Conceal within thee all thy watery store
And seem a terraced stairway to the jewelled floor.

LXI.

I doubt not that celestial maidens sweet
With pointed bracelet gems will prick thee there
To make of thee a shower-bath in the heat;
Frighten the playful girls if they should dare
To keep thee longer, friend, with thunder's harshest blare.

LXII.

Drink where the golden lotus dots the lake;
Serve Indra's elephant as a veil to hide
His drinking; then the tree of wishing shake,
Whose branches like silk garments flutter wide:
With sports like these, O cloud, enjoy the mountain side.

LXIII.

for on this mountain is the city of the Yakshas.

Then, in familiar Alaka find rest,
Down whom the Ganges' silken river swirls,
Whose towers cling to her mountain lover's breast,
While clouds adorn her face like glossy curls
And streams of rain like strings of close-inwoven pearls.

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LATTER CLOUD.

I.

Where palaces in much may rival thee—
Their ladies gay, thy lightning's dazzling powers—
Symphonic drums, thy thunder's melody—
Their bright mosaic floors, thy silver showers—
Thy rainbow, paintings, and thy height, cloud-licking towers.

The splendid heavenly city Alaka,

II.

Where the autumn lotus in dear fingers shines,
And lodh-flowers' April dust on faces rare,
Spring amaranth with winter jasmine twines
In women's braids, and summer siris fair,
The rainy madder in the parting of their hair.

where the flowers which on earth blossom at different seasons, are all found in bloom the year round.

III.

Where men with maids whose charm no blemish mars
Climb to the open crystal balcony
Inlaid with flower-like sparkling of the stars,
And drink the love-wine from the wishing-tree,
And listen to the drums' deep-thundering dignity.

Here grows the magic tree which yields whatever is desired.

IV.

Where maidens whom the gods would gladly wed
Are fanned by breezes cool with Ganges' spray
In shadows that the trees of heaven spread;
In golden sands at hunt-the-pearl they play,
Bury their little fists, and draw them void away.

V.

Where lovers' passion-trembling fingers cling
To silken robes whose sashes flutter wide,
The knots undone; and red-lipped women fling,
Silly with shame, their rouge from side to side,
Hoping in vain the flash of jewelled lamps to hide.

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VI.

Where, brought to balconies' palatial tops
By ever-blowing guides, were clouds before
Like thee who spotted paintings with their drops;
Then, touched with guilty fear, were seen no more,
But scattered smoke-like through the lattice' grated door.

VII.

Here are the stones from which drops of water ooze when the moon shines on them.

Where from the moonstones hung in nets of thread
Great drops of water trickle in the night—
When the moon shines clear and thou, O cloud, art fled—
To ease the languors of the women's plight
Who lie relaxed and tired in love's embraces tight.

VIII.

Here are the magic gardens of heaven.

Where lovers, rich with hidden wealth untold,
Wander each day with nymphs forever young,
Enjoy the wonders that the gardens hold,
The Shining Gardens, where the praise is sung
Of the god of wealth by choirs with love-impassioned tongue.

IX.

Where sweet nocturnal journeys are betrayed
At sunrise by the fallen flowers from curls
That fluttered as they stole along afraid,
By leaves, by golden lotuses, by pearls,
By broken necklaces that slipped from winsome girls.

X.

Here the god of love is not seen, because of the presence of his great enemy, Shiva. Yet his absence is not severely felt.

Where the god of love neglects his bee-strung bow,
Since Shiva's friendship decks Kubera's reign;
His task is done by clever maids, for lo!
Their frowning missile glances, darting plain
At lover-targets, never pass the mark in vain.

XI.

Here the goddesses have all needful ornaments. For the Mine of Sentiment declares: "Women everywhere have four kinds of ornaments — hair-ornaments, jewels, clothes, cosmetics; anything else is local."

Where the wishing-tree yields all that might enhance
The loveliness of maidens young and sweet:
Bright garments, wine that teaches eyes to dance,
And flowering twigs, and rarest gems discrete,
And lac-dye fit to stain their pretty lotus-feet.

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XII.

There, northward from the master's palace, see
Our home, whose rainbow-gateway shines afar;
And near it grows a little coral-tree,
Bending 'neath many a blossom's clustered star,
Loved by my bride as children of adoption are.

And here is the home of the unhappy Yaksha,

XIII.

A pool is near, to which an emerald stair
Leads down, with blooming lotuses of gold
Whose stalks are polished beryl; resting there,
The wistful swans are glad when they behold
Thine image, and forget the lake they loved of old.

with its artificial pool;

XIV.

And on the bank, a sapphire-crested hill
Round which the golden plantain-hedges fit;
She loves the spot; and while I marvel still
At thee, my friend, as flashing lightnings flit
About thine edge, with restless rapture I remember it.

its hill of sport, girdled by bright hedges, like the dark cloud girdled by the lightning;

XV.

The ashoka-tree, with sweetly dancing lines,
The favorite bakul-tree, are near the bower
Of amaranth-engirdled jasmine-vines;
Like me, they wait to feel the winning power
Of her persuasion, ere they blossom into flower.

its two favorite trees, which will not blossom while their mistress is grieving;

XVI.

A golden pole is set between the pair,
With crystal perch above its emerald bands
As green as young bamboo; at sunset there
Thy friend, the blue-necked peacock, rises, stands,
And dances when she claps her bracelet-tinkling hands.

its tame peacock;

XVII.

These are the signs—recall them o'er and o'er,
My clever friend—by which the house is known,
And the Conch and Lotus painted by the door:
Alas! when I am far, the charm is gone—
The lotus' loveliness is lost with set of sun.

and its painted emblems of the god of wealth.

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XVIII.

Small as the elephant cub thou must become
For easy entrance; rest where gems enhance
The glory of the hill beside my home,
And peep into the house with lightning-glance,
But make its brightness dim as fire-flies' twinkling dance.

XIX.

The Yaksha's bride.

The supremest woman from God's work-shop gone—
Young, slender; little teeth and red, red lips,
Slight waist and gentle eyes of timid fawn,
An idly graceful movement, generous hips,
Fair bosom into which the sloping shoulder slips—

XX.

Like a bird that mourns her absent mate anew
Passing these heavy days in longings keen,
My girlish wife whose words are sweet and few,
My second life, shall there of thee be seen—
But changed like winter-blighted lotus-blooms, I ween.

XXI.

Her eyes are swol'n with tears that stream unchidden;
Her lips turn pale with sorrow's burning sighs;
The face that rests upon her hand is hidden
By hanging curls, as when the glory dies
Of the suffering moon pursued by thee through nightly skies.

XXII.

The passion of love passes through ten stages, eight of which are suggested in this stanza and the stanzas which follow. The first stage is not indicated; it is called Exchange of Glances.

Thou first wilt see her when she seeks relief
In worship; or, half fancying, half recalling,
She draws mine image worn by absent grief;
Or asks the cagèd, sweetly-singing starling:
"Do you remember, dear, our lord? You were his darling."

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XXIII.

Or holds a lute on her neglected skirt,
And tries to sing of me, and tries in vain;
For she dries the tear-wet string with hands inert,
And e'er begins, and e'er forgets again,
Though she herself composed it once, the loving strain.

In this stanza and the preceding one is suggested the second stage: Wistfulness.

XXIV.

Or counts the months of absence yet remaining
With flowers laid near the threshold on the floor,
Or tastes the bliss of hours when love was gaining
The memories recollected o'er and o'er—
A woman's comforts when her lonely heart is sore.

Here is suggested the third stage: Desire.

XXV.

Such daytime labors doubtless ease the ache
Which doubly hurts her in the helpless dark;
With news from me a keener joy to wake,
Stand by her window in the night, and mark
My sleepless darling on her pallet hard and stark.

Here is suggested the fourth stage: Wakefulness.

XXVI.

Resting one side upon that widowed bed,
Like the slender moon upon the Eastern height,
So slender she, now worn with anguish dread,
Passing with stifling tears the long, sad night
Which, spent in love with me, seemed but a moment's flight.

Here is suggested the fifth stage: Emaciation.

XXVII.

On the cool, sweet moon that through the lattice flashes
She looks with the old delight, then turns away
And veils her eyes with water-weighted lashes,
Sad as the flower that blooms in sunlight gay,
But cannot wake nor slumber on a cloudy day.

Here is suggested the sixth stage: Loss of Interest in Ordinary Pleasures.

XXVIII.

One unanointed curl still frets her cheek
When tossed by sighs that burn her blossom-lip;
And still she yearns, and still her yearnings seek
That we might be united though in sleep—
Ah! Happy dreams come not to brides that ever weep.

Here is suggested the seventh stage: Loss of Youthful Bashfulness.

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XXIX.

Here is suggested the eighth stage: Absent-mindedness. For if she were not absent-minded, she would arrange the braid so as not to be annoyed by it.

Her single tight-bound braid she pushes oft—
With a hand uncared for in her lonely madness—
So rough it seems, from the cheek that is so soft:
That braid ungarlanded since the first day's sadness,
Which I shall loose again when troubles end in gladness.

XXX.

Here is suggested the ninth stage: Prostration. The tenth stage, Death, is not suggested.

The delicate body, weak and suffering,
Quite unadorned and tossing to and fro
In oft-renewing wretchedness, will wring
Even from thee a raindrop-tear, I know—
Soft breasts like thine are pitiful to others' woe.

XXXI.

I know her bosom full of love for me,
And therefore fancy how her soul doth grieve
In this our first divorce; it cannot be
Self-flattery that idle boastings weave—
Soon shalt thou see it all, and seeing, shalt believe.

XXXII.

Quivering of the eyelids

Her hanging hair prevents the twinkling shine
Of fawn-eyes that forget their glances sly,
Lost to the friendly aid of rouge and wine—
Yet the eyelids quiver when thou drawest nigh
As water-lilies do when fish go scurrying by.

XXXIII.

and trembling of the limbs are omens of speedy union with the beloved.

And limbs that thrill to thee thy welcome prove,
Limbs fair as stems in some rich plantain-bower,
No longer showing marks of my rough love,
Robbed of their cooling pearls by fatal power,
The limbs which I was wont to soothe in passion's hour.

XXXIV.

But if she should be lost in happy sleep,
Wait, bear with her, grant her but three hours grace,
And thunder not, O cloud, but let her keep
The dreaming vision of her lover's face—
Loose not too soon the imagined knot of that embrace.

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XXXV.

As thou wouldst wake the jasmine's budding wonder,
Wake her with breezes blowing mistily;
Conceal thy lightnings, and with words of thunder
Speak boldly, though she answer haughtily
With eyes that fasten on the lattice and on thee.

XXXVI.

"Thou art no widow; for thy husband's friend — The cloud is instructed how to announce himself
Is come to tell thee what himself did say—
A cloud with low, sweet thunder-tones that send
All weary wanderers hastening on their way,
Eager to loose the braids of wives that lonely stay."

XXXVII.

Say this, and she will welcome thee indeed, — in such a way as to win the favor of his auditor.
Sweet friend, with a yearning heart's tumultuous beating
And joy-uplifted eyes; and she will heed
The after message: such a friendly greeting
Is hardly less to woman's heart than lovers' meeting.

XXXVIII.

Thus too, my king, I pray of thee to speak, — The message itself.
Remembering kindness is its own reward;
"Thy lover lives, and from the holy peak
Asks if these absent days good health afford—
Those born to pain must ever use this opening word.

XXXIX.

With body worn as thine, with pain as deep,
With tears and ceaseless longings answering thine,
With sighs more burning than the sighs that keep
Thy lips ascorch—doomed far from thee to pine,
He too doth weave the fancies that thy soul entwine.

XL.

He used to love, when women friends were near,
To whisper things he might have said aloud
That he might touch thy face and kiss thine ear;
Unheard and even unseen, no longer proud,
He now must send this yearning message by a cloud.

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XLI.

According to the treatise called Virtue's Banner, a lover has four solaces in separation: first, looking at objects that remind him of her he loves;

'I see thy limbs in graceful-creeping vines,
Thy glances in the eyes of gentle deer,
Thine eye-brows in the ripple's dancing lines,
Thy locks in plumes, thy face in moonlight clear—
Ah, jealous! But the whole sweet image is not here.

XLII.

second, painting a picture of her;

And when I paint that loving jealousy
With chalk upon the rock, and my caress
As at thy feet I lie, I cannot see
Through tears that to mine eyes unbidden press—
So stern a fate denies a painted happiness.

XLIII.

third, dreaming of her;

And when I toss mine arms to clasp thee tight,
Mine own though but in visions of a dream—
They who behold the oft-repeated sight,
The kind divinities of wood and stream,
Let fall great pearly tears that on the blossoms gleam.

XLIV.

fourth, touching something which she has touched.

Himalaya's breeze blows gently from the north,
Unsheathing twigs upon the deodar
And sweet with sap that it entices forth—
I embrace it lovingly; it came so far,
Perhaps it touched thee first, my life's unchanging star!

XLV.

Oh, might the long, long night seem short to me!
Oh, might the day his hourly tortures hide!
Such longings for the things that cannot be,
Consume my helpless heart, sweet-glancing bride,
In burning agonies of absence from thy side.

XLVI.

The bride is besought not to lose heart at hearing of her lover's wretchedness,

Yet much reflection, dearest, makes me strong,
Strong with an inner strength; nor shouldst thou feel
Despair at what has come to us of wrong;
Who has unending woe or lasting weal?
Our fates move up and down upon a circling wheel.

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XLVII.

When Vishnu rises from his serpent bed
The curse is ended; close thine eyelids tight
And wait till only four months more are sped;
Then we shall taste each long-desired delight
Through nights that the full autumn moon illumines bright.

and to remember that the curse has its appointed end, when the rainy season is over and the year of exile fulfilled. Vishnu spends the rainy months in sleep upon the back of the cosmic serpent Shesha.

XLVIII.

And one thing more: thou layest once asleep,
Clasping my neck, then wakening with a scream;
And when I wondered why, thou couldst but weep
A while, and then a smile began to beam:
"Rogue! Rogue! I saw thee with another girl in dream."

Then is added a secret which, as it could not possibly be known to a third person, assures her that the cloud is a true messenger.

XLIX.

This memory shows me cheerful, gentle wife;
Then let no gossip thy suspicions move:
They say the affections strangely forfeit life
In separation, but in truth they prove
Toward the absent dear, a growing bulk of tenderest love.' "

L.

Console her patient heart, to breaking full
In our first separation; having spoken,
Fly from the mountain ploughed by Shiva's bull;
Make strong with message and with tender token
My life, so easily, like morning jasmines, broken.

The Yaksha then begs the cloud to return with a message of comfort,

LI.

I hope, sweet friend, thou grantest all my suit,
Nor read refusal in thy solemn air;
When thirsty birds complain, thou givest mute
The rain from heaven: such simple hearts are rare,
Whose only answer is fulfilment of the prayer.

LII.

Thus, though I pray unworthy, answer me
For friendship's sake, or pity's, magnified
By the sight of my distress; then wander free
In rainy loveliness, and ne'er abide
One moment's separation from thy lightning bride.

and dismisses him, with a prayer for his welfare.

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HEBREW MORAL DEVELOPMENT. *

WILLIAM FREDERIC BADÉ.

For a just appreciation of the facts of moral development in Hebrew religion, it is necessary to realize at the outset that religion and general culture were practically inseparable in antiquity. In their reactions upon each other this is true to-day. But the farther one goes back into the beginnings of history, the more the different forms of authority by which men's actions are now regulated are seen to merge into one. What we now call morals is in the earliest times represented by a body of tribal customs rigidly enforced upon all members of the community by discipline and habit. What we now call civil law is represented by a system of prohibitions and punishments unsparingly enforced by all members of the tribe upon him whom they suspect to be refractory. What we now call science is represented by a series of myths and legends, giving supernatural reasons for the tribal customs and the fierceness with which any infraction of those customs must be punished. What we now call religion was a part of all three sets of facts, and its chief practical manifestation was a disposition to provide existing practices with divine sanctions. Since religion in primitive times was not a separate body of abstract beliefs, but concretely a part of almost all that we would class as general culture in the form of tribal customs and institutions, and since primitive culture undeniably has by a long process of evolution developed into modern civilization, it follows inevitably that religion has

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shared with civilization this process of progressive development, from the crudest expressions of the religious instinct in nature, ancestor, and fetish worship, to the exalted form in which it has expressed itself in the teachings of Jesus.

When, therefore, we speak of the development of morals and religion, or of the ethical content of religion, we are using an elliptical term and really mean the development of the ethically religious man. The truth of this is obvious, and it implies that the development of the ethically religious man is at the same time the development of the rational man, the artistic man, the civilized man. The history of moral ideals, therefore, is a history of growth, exhibiting on the one hand a process in man; on the other, a progress in idea and institution: the process is the growing fitness of the vehicle of revelation; the progress is the greater perfection of the religion. Needless to say, the conception of revelation that underlies this study regards it as an illumination from within, not a communication from without; as an educative, not as an instructional, process.

The conceptual materials which are to form the basis of our study are imbedded in the literature of the Old Testament. Obviously we must know the historical sequence in which that literature grew up and the political and cultural environment which determined its changing social ideals, for

> "every fiery prophet of old time,
> And all the sacred madness of the bard,
> When God made music through them could but speak
> His music by the framework and the chord."

An enormous amount of critical acumen has been expended upon the literary analysis of Old Testament literature. That task may now be said to be accomplished; for the uncertainties that remain do not affect ultimate issues. As a result of this analysis, verified by linguistics, by the history of laws and institutions, by the testimony of the monuments, and by our knowledge of the history of contemporary nations, the actual and approximate dates of the various books and literary strata of the Old Testament are now known with a remarkable degree of precision. This knowledge

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naturally has become the basis for a reïnterpretation of Hebrew morals and religion in terms of development.

Israel's moral experience runs a course of orderly development along lines marked out by the literary chronology of the Old Testament given in the subjoined table and covering roughly a period of a thousand years.

LITERARY CHRONOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

	B.C.
Moses	c 1300–1200
Early traditions and songs	1200–1000
*J Document (Jahvist) (Materials scattered through the Pentateuch and Joshua)	850
*E Document (Elohist) (Materials scattered through the Pentateuch and Joshua)	†750
Amos and Hosea	750– 735
Isaiah	740– 700
Micah	725– 690
Nahum	c 650
Zephaniah	c 630
*Deuteronomy, written about 650, published	†621
Jeremiah	626– 586
Habakkuk	c 600
Babylonian Exile	597– 538
Ezekiel	592– 570
Lamentations	586
Historical books up to Kings edited in the spirit of Deuteronomy	600– 570
Deutero-Isaiah	c 540
Haggai and Zechariah	520
Job	c 450 or later
Psalms (composed, collected, edited)	520– 150
*Priests' Code (P), Leviticus, etc	550–†450
Malachi, Ruth, Joel, Jonah, Obadiah	460– 350
Pentateuch completed	c 420
Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah	350– 250
Song of Songs	c 350
Book of Proverbs	300
Ecclesiastes	c 250
Daniel	c 165
Esther	c 150

c Circa, about.

* Principal documents.

† Legal codes.

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That the laws which are found to have controlled the growth of Israel's moral ideals are essentially the same as those with whose operation we are acquainted elsewhere is not surprising. Just as the occurrence of some elements of the Mosaic law in the Code of Hammurabi, older than Moses by a thousand years, shows that Hebrew codifiers founded their legislative system on the proved experience of past generations, so the study of Semitic origins has shown that many religious practices and institutions, once believed to be the peculiar possession of the Hebrews, were known and practised centuries before this gifted people made them a part of their own religious economy. It is precisely what our belief in the genetic unity (cf. Acts xiv) of all religion, and in the continuity of its development, would lead us to expect. Nor does it furnish cause for fear lest the ascertainment of such genetic relationships should undermine faith in the objects of religion and in the reality of revelation. What it does undermine is a false theory of revelation which an appeal to the facts does not sustain and which in the interest of sound religious progress ought no longer to be suffered to go unchallenged.

It seems desirable at this point to say a word about the Hebrew conception of revelation. According to Jeremiah xviii. 18 there were three sources of divine guidance: the "word" of the prophet, the "counsel" of the sage, and the "instruction" of the priest. The first dealt primarily with matters of social ethics; the second with prudential precepts for the practical guidance of everyday life; and the third with ceremonial and ritual regulations. The prophecies of Amos, the Book of Proverbs, and the Book of Leviticus are typical illustrations respectively of each class of literature. Of these only the first is pertinent to our inquiry into the Hebrew conception of revelation. It is interesting to observe that in the course of centuries not only the content of the prophetic preaching changed, but that the prophets gradually modified their view of the

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manner in which God was thought to reveal His will to them. Our earliest information about the order of the prophets shows that they lived in religious communities or societies, the members of which were known collectively as *"B'ne hannebi'im," i.e.,* "sons of the prophets." This peculiarity they are believed to have had in common with similar religious societies among neighboring nations, for instance among the Phoenicians. Moreover, in primitive times both Hebrews and Phoenicians believed a dervish-like frenzy to be the mark of divine inspiration, or rather, possession, inasmuch as they spoke of it as a "seizure." Occasionally an artificial stimulus was employed in order to induce this psychic condition. II Kings iii. 15 reads: "And Elisha said . . . now bring me a minstrel. And it came to pass when the minstrel played, that the hand of Jahveh came upon him." This possession-theory of prophecy for a long time constituted the answer of popular philosophy to the question, "How does the Deity communicate His will through the prophet, His forth-teller or mouthpiece?" At a time when these psychic states of religious frenzy were generally regarded as evidence of spirit-seizure, and when no other answer to this question was either known or conceivable, primitive prophetism naturally yielded in act and thought to this theory. Probably because almost any one could by auto-suggestion, or by external stimulus, produce within himself the desired psychic state, and because the frenzied dervish-prophetism of Saul's time could no longer satisfy an age of higher culture, the authenticity of these ecstatic states as exclusive evidence of divine inspiration came to be doubted. Dreams and visions, recognized as means of Divine communication from time immemorial, gradually began to supersede ecstasy in the economy of prophetism. Experience shows that primitive religious beliefs are practically indestructible, except by the destruction of the race in which they are ingrained. It is not surprising, therefore, that occasional instances of ecstacy-prophetism are met with among the literary prophets even

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after the collapse of Hebrew nationality. But from the time of Isaiah onward there is increasing evidence of a still more rational interpretation of the means by which the Divine Will was believed to be communicated; among them are to be reckoned the teaching of personal experience, flashes of insight prepared for by communion with God and long meditation upon the ethical relation of God to His people; and last, but not least, the lessons of history—the first half-unconscious recognition that reflective thinking is an element of revelation involved in the process of deduction. Finally reason and reflection began to assume a large place in prophetism, although it continued to appear in the rhetorical and figurative dress peculiar to an earlier period of prophecy. This entire course of development illustrates the gradual elimination of superstition and unreason from religion. One remarkable fact about this rationalizing process in Old Testament prophecy is the gradual abandonment of a distinction between human and Divine agencies in which the divine element plays the part of a localized spirit. A moment's reflection will show that the possession theory of prophetism involved the corollary that God is within the world and a part of it, being limited by time, by space, and by matter. Neither our philosophical idea of transcendence nor that of immanence has any real point of contact with this conception of God, which is essentially animistic and intracosmic. Of God so conceived it is impossible to say that He is absolute, omnipotent, or all-wise. This difficulty began to be felt by the later prophets, and it led to the gradual abandonment of the possession theory and ecstatic prophetism. Still they continued to believe that abnormal states of consciousness, happening irregularly and according to no perceptible law, were evidences of the divine afflatus. The New Testament idea that the human and the divine may be indistinguishably and inseparably united is the product of much thought and experience; a conviction which it is safe to say never fully dawned on the mind of any Hebrew prophet, even the latest.

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In passing now to the consideration of Israel's earliest moral ideals, I beg to remind you that this study presupposes acceptance of what may be called the assured results of Old Testament scholarship. Whoever desires to verify details of literary analysis is referred to the various modern treatises on Old Testament Introduction. The limits of my subject do not permit me to extend this investigation beyond the point at which Old Testament literature begins. But of Hebrew literature earlier than the ninth or tenth century B.C. only scattered fragments survive, almost entirely in the form of songs. Among these the song of Deborah (Judg. v.) must be, substantially, our point of departure, for contemporary literature is the only satisfactory source for the study of ethical ideals. This does not take us back even to the time of Moses. Yet according to a well-known law primitive conceptions of God and duty survive in their effects and often in their original form in the later stages of religious development. Adding to this corroborative evidence derived from the ideas of kindred peoples in similar political conditions, we may feel certain that we can obtain at least inferential knowledge of moral beginnings antedating even the time of Moses. Thus the cruel boast of the blood-avenger in the Song of Lamech may be an echo from a time when the excesses of private revenge had not yet been checked by the Mosaic law of retaliation, "Eye for eye and tooth for tooth." But this sifting is delicate work and had better not be attempted in a general survey. It must be our endeavor, in any case, to consider individual instances of ethical or unethical conduct only as illustrations of the principle under which they are subsumed. Deeply significant for our purposes is the fact that the Hebrews tried to make their conception of the divine conduct and nature the regulative ideal of their own conduct. True, the statement "Ye shall be holy;[1] for I, Jahveh, your God, am holy" (Lev. xix. 2) is found in one of the later law codes. But the same principle is clearly implied in the

[1] The idea of holiness implied is only partly ethical.

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writings of Amos, and was doubtless in force at a still earlier day. In order, therefore, not to overlook some important motives of conduct, we must ascertain the conception of God prevalent at a given time, for both the ethical and the unethical elements in the Hebrew conception of his character were likely to work themselves out in conduct. Thus in Deborah's song Jahveh is a tribal deity, who accompanies his people into battle. The poet's imagination invests him with every element of fierce partisanship. From Sinai he comes marching to join the forces of Barak "against the mighty." We know from subsequent occurrences in Israel's history that this sharply particularistic conception of Jahveh was consonant with the perpetration of the most awful atrocities in his name. The tribal deity was believed to have only the interests of his own tribe at heart, and almost any act, however immoral from our point of view, was believed to have his sanction, if it tended to the advantage of the tribe and did not contravene tribal customs. A practice which the Hebrews shared with contemporary Semites was that of "devoting" the whole population of the enemy, putting to the sword men, women, and children indiscriminately, in the firm belief that it was in accordance with the will of Jahveh. Saul's and Samuel's treatment of the Amalekites is a case in point. Jael's act of treachery in murdering Sisera, and the poet's savage exultation over the act, are intelligible from this point of view. We are called upon neither to condemn nor to approve. To condemn is to be lacking in historical sense; to approve is to be lacking in clear ethical convictions. But to be worthy heirs of the moral development by which Deborah's Jahveh, "the man of war," has become the Father of mankind and "the God of all peace," we must be fully conscious of the enormous difference between the two.

The complex of traditions contained in the two prophetic documents, known respectively as J and E, is our chief source of information on the early popular and prophetic conception of God and duty in Israel. The writings of

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Amos and Hosea furnish confirmatory evidence of the ideas that are imbedded in these ancient traditions, although in other ways these two preachers of righteousness stand at the turn in the road that leads to ethically higher and rationally more tenable views. It was the supreme achievement of Moses that he established as a national cult the worship of Jahveh, known at first to the Kenites only, or to a few North Arabic tribes. In any case the earliest traditions represent his worship localized at Mount Sinai. When the federated tribes adopted his worship as theirs, or, as the prophets put it, were chosen by him as his peculiar people, a national religion was established, and he became the God of the nation. When the nation so formed laid aside its nomadic habits and adopted a settled mode of life in Canaan, conditions were ripe for the introduction of the correlated idea that he was the God of the land occupied by his people. This development was furthered by the belief, widely prevalent among Semites at the time, that there were many gods and that each exercised power within a limited domain. With the exception, therefore, of a few hints looking in the direction of later developments, the early traditions consistently speak of Jahveh as the God of Israel, not of mankind, and as the God of Palestine ("inheritance of Jahveh"), not of the universe, or even the world as then conceived. It must be evident that a conception of God which limits his interests to one nation, and his presence and the exercise of his power within the limits of a given mundane territory, thereby carves the mold within which every other thought of him must be cast. As we shall see, the restraining influence of this nationalistic conception of God was felt strongly in the sphere of human duty. Its immediate effect was to limit the range of moral obligation to dealings with one's countrymen. Given the belief that Jahveh's interest is limited to Israelites, and that he is the patron of justice only within the borders of their land, it follows that dealings with foreigners are governed by expediency, not by moral obligation. This cir-

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cumscribed character of Hebrew social morality corresponds to similar developments during the period of group morality elsewhere. Not until the beginning of the Christian era did the Romans, according to Lecky's *History of European Morals*, experience that "enlargement of moral sympathies which, having at first comprised only a class or a nation, came at last, by the destruction of many artificial barriers, to include all classes and all nations." Though earlier Greek thinkers had expressed a broader view, Aristotle in the fourth century B.C. still held that "Greeks owe no greater duties to barbarians than to wild beasts." While the Hebrews on the whole emancipated themselves a little sooner from this restricted view of moral obligation, we must not blink the fact of its presence in the early records.

One of the sources for the study of Hebrew ethical ideals is in the person of characters they idealized, such as Abraham, Jacob, Moses, Samuel, David, and others. In Gen. xii (J), Abraham appears, as elsewhere, in the rôle of a personalized ideal. To guard against possible danger to himself he tells a lie that may involve the dishonor of his wife. By the aid of Jahveh, who secures to Abraham the practical advantages of his deception, he triumphs over Pharaoh, who figures simply as a foreigner. The story implies the common belief and practice of the time that there is no moral obligation which a Hebrew is bound to observe in his dealings with foreigners. The same unmoral attitude is ascribed to Jahveh, who helps Abraham not because he is right, but because he is his client. A somewhat later doublet of the same tradition appears in Gen. xx (E), but with significant evidences of a deeper moral feeling. Abimelech here appears as the foreigner, the foil by which the shrewdness and superior divine affiliations of the tribal father are set off. The attempt to extricate Abraham from an unethical situation by sophistry is not morally defensible, but indicates that the narrator felt the injustice involved in a lie that proved injurious, even though it was an injury done to a foreigner. The

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slightly apologetic tone of the whole account indicates a heightening of the ethical ideal. Yet we should note that it still falls far short of the ideal of Amos, who makes divine aid dependent upon moral rectitude only; whereas here, as in the earlier account, Jahveh is pictured as enabling Abraham to mulct a man whom he has injured by a base untruth.

According to our moral standard it is Abraham, not Abimelech, who owes reparation. We have here obsolete and ethically imperfect standards of morality provided with the sanction of an equally defective ethical conception of God. The historical point of view enables the student to see the moral defects in these early portrayals of God and ideals of godly men as temporary elements in a developing process. The same historical, not moral, justification must be urged for the implied sanction of slavery, of polygamy, the low idea of womanhood, and the rude morals of sex.

Needless to say the ethical quality of these Abraham stories is by no means exceptional. Even greater moral obliquity is exhibited in the story that tells how Jacob deceives his blind old father, and filches the blessing from Esau, who represents the Edomites. Despite falsehood and deception, so runs the tale, Jahveh espouses the cause of Jacob, for it is again the case of an Israelite against a foreigner. On the same principle the Israelites on the eve of departure from Egypt are directed to borrow from the Egyptians with the concealed intention of keeping what they get.

All this illustrates how the national God-idea worked itself out in practical ethics. The conviction that God always acts or wills according to an absolute moral standard has at this time scarcely dawned upon the Hebrews. They ascribed to him moral characteristics, but not a moral character founded upon eternal ethical principles. Such statements as that that Jahveh had commanded Shimei to curse David (IS. xvi. 10), that he sent an evil spirit between Abimelech and the men of Schechem (Ju. ix. 23), that an

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evil spirit from Jahveh troubles Saul (IS. xvi. 14), that he requests Abraham to sacrifice his son (an idea that, as Jeremiah declares, never entered Jahveh's mind, Jer. vii. 31), that he thinks it necessary to guard himself against human encroachments upon his prerogatives, that pestilence, drought, and famine, and destructive wild beasts are always sent directly by him in punishment or revenge for some slight, or some affront to his physical holiness,—these are proof that no adequate conception of Jahveh as a moral personality, unchangeable, and constant in his purposes, controlled the religious thought of this time. In the light of this fact and of the particularism of the Hebrews we can understand how they could regard Jahveh as guardian of justice and morality in Israel, and yet ascribe to him acts and commands that are neither just nor moral.

The discerning student will already have perceived that in all this we really discover the early Israelite painting his own ethical portrait, objectifying his own ethical ideals. It is he, not God, whose moral character lacks coherence, whose acts are often immoral and unjust, whose humanity has racial and geographical limits, and whose religion is still honeycombed with unreason and superstition. As already stated, one of the tendencies of primitive religion is to fortify existing practices with divine sanctions. This involves the assumption that Jahveh's will coincides with Israel's national customs and morality; that he is the guardian of the social order as it exists, and that any infraction of it is an infraction of his will. It means that the average Israelite, at crucial points in his ethical life, contemplated his own imperfect ethical ideals, and naïvely called them God's ideals. Against this comfortable conception of God's character and demands Amos and Hosea were the first to hurl passionate denials.

It seems pertinent at this point to say a word about the Decalogue, which has come down to us in at least three editions. The earliest is reported in a portion of the Jahvistic document (Exod. xxxiv). Its contents deal entirely

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with matters of cult and have no moral significance. These ten commandments are the following:

1. Thou shalt not prostrate thyself before any other God.
2. Thou shalt not make thee a molten image of God.
3. Thou shalt keep the Feast of Unleavened Bread.
4. Every first born male is mine.
5. Thou shalt not appear before me empty-handed.
6. Thou shalt rest on the seventh day.
7. Thou shalt observe the Feast of Weeks.
8. And the Feast of Ingathering at the turn of the year.
9. Thrice a year shall every male appear before the Lord.
10. Thou shalt not mingle the blood of my sacrifice with with leaven.
11. My Passover offering shall not remain until morning.
12. The first fruits of thy ground shalt thou bring to the House of Jahveh, thy God.
13. Thou shalt not boil a kid with its mother's milk.

As the text now stands there are thirteen in this list; three must have been added by later redactors, since the number ten is explicitly mentioned (Exod. xxxiv. 28). But it is almost impossible now to say which were the original ten among the thirteen. There is little likelihood that even this earliest edition goes back to Moses, because some of the commandments are applicable to an agricultural population only and would have been meaningless to nomads such as the Hebrews are represented to have been in the days of Moses. Their origin is best referred to about the time of Elijah, and they reflect a stage of Israel's religion which had not yet profited by the ethical preaching of the great prophets.

The second edition of the ten commandments, found in the 20th chapter of Exodus, a part of the Elohistic document, illustrates by comparison the transfer of emphasis from cultus to morality in religion. This is the Decalogue

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familiar to most people. It has only the Sabbath commandment in common with the earlier edition. The strong emphasis which it lays on social morality connects it with the moral crusade of the prophets, inaugurated by Amos of Tekoa about the middle of the eighth century B.C.

During the period under discussion thus far two main obstacles stood in the way of moral progress, the national-God-idea, and the identification of Jahveh's will with Israel's particularistic ethics. The former restricted the range of moral obligation to dealings between Israelites, the latter clipped the wings of ethical ideals and thereby fixed them to the earth. The ultimate removal of these barriers was the work of many prophets and of many centuries. Jeremiah was the first to recognize in Jahveh "the God of all flesh" (xxxi. 26), and the writer of the 55th chapter of Isaiah declares "My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, says Jahveh. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts." But this stage of moral advance is preceded by many lesser stages of which one must take account.

Amos, as stated above, is the first Hebrew prophet who applies his prophetic gifts to a relentless criticism of the popular and sacerdotal religion of his time and thus leads the first great moral advance. The national-God-idea as then understood involves Jahveh's championship of Israel irrespective of moral considerations.

What does Amos have to say to this moral obliquity by which Jahveh, on the basis of a supposed necessary alliance between Israel and himself, is claimed as the defender of his people's wickedness? His answer must have been startling in the extreme, not to say blasphemous and unpatriotic. "You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore will I visit upon you all your iniquities," (iii. 2). Two objections are entered: (1) Jahveh's relation to Israel is not a necessary, but a voluntary one. He chooses them and can dissolve the relation again, for they are not neces-

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sary to his existence or well-being. (2) Far from becoming their champion in political troubles, and so conniving at their wickedness, he, being a moral personality, is bound to chastise them even unto destruction.

It is difficult for a modern to realize how paradoxical this declaration must have sounded to the hearers of Amos, for popularly it meant the destruction both of people and of religion. Since the exercise of religion in Israel, as in most ancient Semitic states, had for its object the prosperity and perpetuation of organized society, no one could suppose that any god would destroy his own clients. On the contrary, the chief function of the national god is that of leading his worshippers to victory against foreigners, his enemies and theirs. Hence the Israelites are looking forward to the great battle-day on which Jahveh will vindicate them against their foreign enemies. Amos has only bitter scorn for this expectation of unmoral partisanship. "Woe unto you, that desire the day of Jahveh! Wherefore would you have the day of Jahveh? As if a man did flee from a lion, and a bear met him; or went into the house and leaned his hand on the wall, and a serpent bit him. Shall not the day of Jahveh be darkness, and not light? Even very dark and no brightness in it!" (v. 18-20). Jahveh's favor, says Amos, is contingent upon the moral character of the recipient and not upon the administration of the sacrificial cult. "I hate, I despise your sacrificial feasts," he understands Jahveh to say. In their place they are to "let justice roll down as waters and righteousness as an ever-flowing stream" (v. 24). The direct parallelism between the following passages indicates that "seeking Jahveh" and "seeking good" are substantially equivalent expressions: "Seek Jahveh, and ye may live" (v. 6a); "Seek good, and not evil, that ye may live" (v. 14a; cf., also v. 6 and v. 15). To "seek Jahveh" had always meant to visit a sanctuary of Jahveh in order to offer sacrifices. The very different meaning which Amos now gives to the phrase is in detail dependent upon the question as to what he understood by

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"good." It suffices in this connection to note its undoubted moral significance. In extant written prophecy these passages, therefore, constitute the first great declaration in the Old Testament of the inseparability of morality and religion. So fundamental is this recognition of the ethical character of true religion that out of it have grown the positive gains of the entire subsequent development of Israel's religion. When Amos declares that sacrifice cannot indemnify for the neglect of Jahveh's moral precepts, it implies on his part a clear moral preception of God's will as an ethical will, and of moral conduct as the one thing needful on the part of his worshippers. To his credit, therefore, will it ever be said that he was the first great prophet in Israel who defined religion in terms of moral obligation. There was no possibility of moral progress in the old idea that Jahveh was simply the guardian of existing social customs among Israelites, and that he demanded sacrifices as fines for sins committed, or as a retaining fee to champion their cause against foreign enemies. Such a religion was a comfortable pillow, especially as long as the king assumed the duty of maintaining the cultus in a state of becoming magnificence out of the royal funds. Upon this religion of mad and sensual indulgence, typified by the sacrificial revellers at Bethel, the herdsman prophet served the mandamus of an ethical exaction, supported by a wholly new conception of Jahveh and his demands.

It would be interesting to know what Amos included under the term "good." To read a New Testament meaning into the word would be a serious mistake. Amos doubtless would have admitted some social customs and forms of conduct under this heading which the christian judgment of our time would unhesitatingly classify differently. Furthermore, some of his denunciations suggest that his understanding of "evil" included some things that cannot be condemned on moral grounds. Notice, for instance, his vehement arraignment of what might be called ordinary luxuries of life. Like many another ardent reformer he

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probably did not always stop to distinguish between the abuse and the legitimate use of certain things. Unfortunately neither the depths nor the shallows of his moral judgment are accessible now to the plummet of psychological analysis. So much, however, is clear, that the fundamental social virtues, justice, honesty, truthfulness, and fair dealing, occupy the foreground of his thought. There is, indeed, a series of passages which seem to restrict Jahveh's moral requirements to the proper administration of justice on the one hand, and of legal rectitude on the other (ii. 7 ff.; v. 7, 10-12; viii. 4-6). Amos has before his eyes the everlasting curse of the East, bribery in the law-courts, which deprives the poor man of his just right and fills the houses of the rich with violence and spoil (iii. 10).

Since overtness is a necessary condition of legal guilt it is well to remind one's self of the fact that Amos' judgments move in a realm where motives as yet play no perceptible part. For morality differentiates itself from legality at the point where the inward test of merit begins to supplant the outward. But Amos is seeking to apply concrete remedies to concrete sins. Therefore he postulates as the foundation of acceptable religion that elemental requirement of the moral law which his hearers so signally violate in their human relations. For the same reason Jahveh seems to him an impersonation of justice, and the sacrifices "a covering of the eyes," an attempt to bribe the Judge. No picture of Amos' fancy is so full of meaning as that of the mystic figure on the wall with a plumb-line in his hand. It is his symbol for an inexorable, undeviating Justice whose decision must prove fatal to Israel.

It would, however, scarcely be correct to suppose that legal righteousness exhausts the ethical content of what Amos calls "good." If this were so it would have a purely local Hebrew significance. But Amos has in mind an ethical standard by which he judges the conduct of neighboring nations also (i. 3, 13; ii. 1). In other words, he begins to free the idea of good from national and legal limitations,

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giving to it an international significance. Crude and vague as it undoubtedly still was in particulars, it now was capable of developing into rules of action that have universal validity.

Among pre-exilic prophets subsequent to the time of Amos I have time to single out only one, Isaiah ben-Amoz. In literary as in intellectual ability he occupies a position of unique eminence in Hebrew literature. His characterization of Jahveh in the temple vision—lines that have become the liturgical property of all Christendom—also sets forth his chief contribution to Israel's moral progress.

> "Holy, holy, holy, is Jahveh of Hosts,
> The whole earth is full of his glory." (vi. 3).

So far as we can tell Isaiah also invented the phrase "Israel's Holy One," meaning God.

I have elsewhere called attention to the fact that the Hebrews tried to make their conception of Jahveh's holiness the regulative ideal of their own lives. Much, therefore, depends upon the worshipper's understanding of the word. In the days before Amos it was practically empty of ethical significance, denoting little more than "taboo." In comparatively late times, under priestly influences, as the Book of Leviticus shows, it suffered deterioration again in the direction of this earlier meaning. Before a worshipper's conception of God can influence him to regulate his life according to ethical principles he must know and believe that God himself possesses an ethical character; that he is Lord of the human conscience; and that he judges men by a moral standard, and governs his relations to them accordingly. The contemporaries of Isaiah still believed that God regulated his attitude toward them, whether of favor or of disfavor, solely by considerations of the legitimate and illegitimate in cultus. To Isaiah's contemporaries "I am holy, therefore ye shall be holy also," would have meant "I am ritually holy and I exact ritual holiness from my worshippers. Therefore you must guard against ceremonial defilements, against touching or eating things

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that are taboo; and you must discharge your sacrificial ceremonial with strict attention to the ritual prescriptions." In order to lift them out of this religion of forms into a religion of character he intuitively selects the most strategic approach to his problem. He gives to the idea of holiness a much larger ethical content, and so to Hebrew religion as a whole. Like Amos he discards ritual worship. Speaking in Jahveh's name he says:

"Hear Jahveh's word, ye chieftains of Sodom

. . . . . .

What care I for the great number of your sacrifices?
I am sated with burnt offerings of rams, and fat of fed beasts,
And in the blood of bullocks, and lambs and he-goats I have no delight
When ye come to appear before me—who has required this at your hand?"[2]

From another of his prophecies I cite this illustrative passage:

"Woe unto those . . . who say:
Let the purpose of Israel's Holy One draw nigh and come, that we may perceive it!
Woe unto those who call evil good, and good evil,
Who put darkness for light, and light for darkness.
Who put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter!" (v. 18 ff.).

These and many other declarations show that when Isaiah attacks sin he has reference in the first place to misdoings from the moral point of view. With a directness and sureness unattained by any of his predecessors Isaiah asserts the ethical character of Jahveh by pointing out that he requires of his worshippers conformity with a moral standard, and not the observance of feast days and ritual. There is a fine moral fervor in a passage in which he restates his conception of religion in terms of moral obligation:

"Your hands are stained with blood.
Wash you, make you clean, let me see the evil of your doings no more.
Seek out justice, chastise the violent,
Right the orphan, plead for the widow," (i. 15 ff.).

[2] The Isaiah passages are quoted in the main from T. K. Cheyne's translation.

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We now turn to what may be called the third stage in the advance of Hebrew morality. There is a passage in Micah, a younger contemporary of Isaiah, in which he mentions an apparently numerous party whose watchword was "Jahveh is among us. No evil can come upon us" (Mic. iii. 11). It seems probable that this party interpreted the events of the year 701 B.C. as a signal intervention on the part of Jahveh to save his city and his temple. The fact that the sanctuaries of Northern Israel had passed into the hands of the enemy strengthened the belief that Jerusalem was Jahveh's inviolable dwelling-place. Thus the closing year of the eighth century B.C. prepared the way for Deuteronomy, for the centralization of worship at Jerusalem. Reference to the twenty-sixth chapter of Jeremiah shows how, in the course of subsequent events, the superstitious faith of the party mentioned by Micah had hardened into the doctrine of Zion's inviolability. Heterogeneous elements, therefore, were comprised among the forces that inaugurated the Deuteronomic reformation. For while the centralization of worship at Jerusalem was the direct result of prophetic activity, it also played into the hands of the inviolability party to which the prophets were strenuously opposed. For Isaiah had declared that when Jahveh encamped against Jerusalem, as David once had done, the city would become an altar-hearth, reeking with the blood and carnage of war (Is. xxix. 2, 3); Micah, that the temple mountain would be plowed as a field, and the city become a heap of ruins (Mic. iii. 12).

Among the promoters of the Deuteronomic movement are found, therefore, on the one hand, the old prophetic party which desired centralization of worship at Jerusalem as the only effective means of stamping out the Jahveh-Baal worship; and on the other hand, the inviolability party, dominated probably by the priests attached to the Jerusalem sanctuary. The latter party served its own interests best by accepting the movement as an agreement with their claim that Jerusalem was the only and inviolable

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home of Jahveh. This fact of diversity of purpose in the achievement of a common end must be clearly grasped if one is to understand the attitude of Jeremiah toward Deuteronomy after Josiah's reformation. The inviolability party, leaning doubtless upon Deuteronomy, claimed to be the representative of orthodoxy. But in making the faith of Judah dependent not upon character and ethical conduct, but upon the magic value of the sacred buildings, Jeremiah's opponents were displacing one unmoral faith with another. The dislodgment of superstitious regard for many sacred places thus became the unintended means of fostering a worse superstition at Jerusalem. The prophet states the issue uncompromisingly: "Trust ye not in lying words, saying, The temple of Jahveh, the temple of Jahveh, the temple of Jahveh, are these. For if ye thoroughly amend your ways and your doings; if ye thoroughly execute justice between a man and his neighbor; if ye oppress not the sojourner, the fatherless, and the widow, and shed not innocent blood in this place . . . then will I cause you to dwell in this place, in the land that I gave to your fathers, from of old even forevermore" (vii. 4-7). This is Jeremiah's affirmation of the inseparability of religion and morality. It is worth observing in this connection that the acceptance of the temple as a palladium by the inviolability party was only an extension of the popular belief in the efficacy of sacrifices to secure the favor of Jahveh. From the fact that Deuteronomy gives a large place to divine commands about sacrifices, ostensibly delivered during the exodus, one is bound to infer that great importance continued to be attached to them even in prophetic circles. Jeremiah, however, denies that Jahveh ever gave commands about sacrifices, and so eliminates both the temple and the cultus from the essential uses of religion (vii. 21, 22). It would be hard to overrate the significance of the prophet's attitude in this matter. Of cognate importance is an interesting passage about the "ark of the covenant," in which Jeremiah frankly recognizes its worthlessness (iii. 16). This

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implies condemnation of the superstitious veneration accorded to the ark in earlier times, and so marks a long advance over primitive ideas reflected in the story about Uzzah's death, a story whose assumptions about God are shockingly crude and false from a Christian point of view. In short, the distinctly secondary importance to which Jeremiah relegates certain forms of religion springs from an instinctive conviction that practical religion consists in conforming conduct to moral law. That he should objectify the content of the moral law in terms of divine commands and prohibitions is necessarily incidental to the theology of his time.

It will be useful at this point to review briefly the ethical gains as well as the ethical limitations of Deuteronomy, for against the background of this book the splendid service of Jeremiah appears to best advantage. He doubtless was in hearty accord at first with this attempt to reduce prophetic ideals to practice. But when the Deuteronomic movement played more and more into the hands of the inviolability party; when its emphasis upon spiritual motives was perverted into excessive regard for ritual observances; when the law of the single sanctuary, intended to emancipate religion from its degrading connection with the "high-places" of Canaan, was invoked for the protection of priestly pretensions and a superstitious faith in the magic value of the Jerusalem temple, Jeremiah became the critic of Deuteronomy and the legalism which its official expounders read into it. "How do ye say, We are wise, and the law of Jahveh is with us?" he exclaims. "But behold the lying pen of the scribes hath made of it a falsehood. The wise men are put to shame; they are dismayed and taken; lo, they have rejected the word of Jahveh; and what manner of wisdom is in them?" (viii. 8, 9).

It has been customary to see in Deuteronomy a protest of monotheism against polytheism. In reality it is a protest of mono-Jahvism against poly-Jahvism.[3] The people, inclined to postulate a different Jahveh at each high-place,

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were to be taught by the adoption of one sanctuary that there was but one Jahveh. But the Jahveh whom the Deuteronomist depicts expressly limits his interest to Israel alone and leaves other nations to the tender mercies of deities he has "allotted" to them (Deut. iv. 19, 20). As ethical monotheism this view of God's relation to mankind is unworthy of the name. It is only a modified henotheism in which the national-god-idea squares itself with a belief in Jahveh's supremacy over other deities whose real existence is not questioned. The effect of such a view of God upon the sense of moral obligation toward foreigners has been pointed out on a previous page. Psychologically, the Israelite restriction of God's love and interest to themselves was the reflection of their own unmoral attitude toward non-Israelites. Following the naïve practice of claiming divine sanction for current customs the Deuteronomist, for instance, alleges divine authority for selling to a foreigner, as food, the carcass of an animal that has succumbed to disease, "Ye shall not eat anything that dieth of itself; thou mayest give it to the sojourner that is in thy gates, that he may eat it; or thou mayest sell it unto a foreigner." (xiv. 21). That such an outrageous bargain could not be concluded without deliberate deception stands to reason. The assumption is that deception and consequent injury are not wrong in Jahveh's eyes if a foreigner is the victim. A domestic God is the patron of a domestic morality. Foreigners can be objects only of his hostility. "Thou shalt consume all the people that Jahveh thy God shall deliver unto thee; thine eyes shall not pity them" (vii. 16). From a historical point of view this is more or less justifiable as a transient condition in a developing process. Deuteronomy takes a noble, though subordinate, place in the advancing moral experience of Israel. But to teach its moral crudities as the "word of God," whether as

[3] Cf. C. W. Badè, Der Monojahwismus des Deuteronomiums, ZAW, 1910; *The Biblical World*, University of Chicago Press, March, May, and September, 1909.

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absolute or as accommodated ethics, is an outrage to common intelligence and unworthy of the Christian idea of God.

It was the transmission of immoral customs with the tradition of a divine origin that led Ezekiel to make the curious and startling assertion that God had given to Israel evil, deadly, and polluting laws (xx. 25 ff.). His reference seems to be primarily to the command of the earliest Decalogue, "Every first-born male is mine," which originally involved the sacrifice of first-born male children. Among the Hebrews, as elsewhere, the retention upon the statute books and in the ritual of laws framed in a less enlightened past provided the opportunity, seldom neglected by rascals in any age, to invoke the sanction of law upon lawlessness. The significant thing is that Ezekiel, forced to choose between a denial of the divine origin of immoral precepts in the Mosaic law and the possibility that God may give immoral commands, accepts the latter view. The story of Jahveh's command to Abraham to sacrifice his first-born, though intended to sanction the abrogation of human sacrifice, moves in the same circle of ideas.

It is with satisfaction that one turns from Deuteronomy to Jeremiah, who both explicitly and implicitly takes more advanced ground. Unlike the Deuteronomist he does not believe that Jahveh shares the rule of the world with other deities. He frankly calls them "no-gods," nonentities. The following passage seems to contain an allusion to the theory that Jahveh has allotted subordinate deities to foreign nations: "O Jahveh, my strength and my stronghold, and my refuge in the day of affliction, unto thee shall the nations come from the ends of the earth, and shall say, Our fathers have inherited naught but lies (i.e., false gods), even vanity and things wherein is no profit. Shall a man take unto himself gods, which yet are no-gods?" (xvi. 19). In removing these deities from the category of gods, and in voicing the protest of foreign nations against the partiality and injustice of such a restricted disposition of divine favor, Jeremiah takes the last step that needed to be taken toward

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pure monotheism. When Jeremiah calls these deities "no-gods" he is by the logic of the situation compelled to break the bonds of a particularistic conception of God, or to leave all foreign nations without gods—godless in the strict sense. While he cannot and does not at all points free himself from the trammels of the national-God-idea, he has too profound and true a conception of Jahveh's character to choose the latter alternative. In xxxii. 26 the narrow particularism of Deuteronomy receives a staggering blow: "Then came the word of Jahveh to Jeremiah, saying, Behold, I am Jahveh, the God of all flesh." It would be difficult to overrate the ethical consequences of this broader humanitarian view of God's relation to all mankind in the religion of Israel. Space forbids the tracing out in detail of its broadening effect upon the sense of moral obligation toward non-Israelites. It must suffice to refer to the almost evangelical sympathies of Deutero-Isaiah and the broad humanitarianism of the Book of Jonah as later fruits of Jeremiah's planting. Even priestly literature, though in most respects a complete perversion of Jeremiah's religious ideals, exhibits a growing tolerance, at least in reference to the *gērîm* ("strangers").

In a variety of ways Deuteronomy exhibits a deepening of ethical feeling and a greater humanizing of laws and customs. Very significant is the closer association of charity and religion. Wanton destruction of the common means of subsistence, encouraged in earlier days by a prophet like Elisha, is prohibited as a war measure in Deuteronomy. The old *lex talionis*, intended to check the excesses of private revenge, is given a more limited range of application. The Decalogue is reformulated on a more humanitarian basis (Dt. 5), noticeable especially in the reasons given for Sabbath observance. Growth of morality and refinement is indicated also by improvement in the position of woman. A bond-woman is conceded a man's right of manumission after seven years. Seduction, regarded in earlier law only in the light of pecuniary loss to the maiden's father, is treated

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as a breach of moral purity, punishable with a fine. In these and other evidences of the amelioration of manners and customs one may recognize the common advance of general culture and ethical religion. Jeremiah's protest against the evils of a book religion, such as Deuteronomy inaugurated, was doubtless in part due to an instinctive perception of the danger of claiming permanent validity for a transitory stage of religious development. For, as has been well observed, "what in one generation is a living truth of faith becomes in later generations a mere dead formula, part of the religion learned by rote, with which living faith has to do battle upon new issues."

In concluding this study it becomes necessary to touch upon an element of moral progress that is in many respects the most important—the rise of ethical individualism. The essential character of Old Testament ethics is sure to be misunderstood by one who does not realize that the professed object of Old Testament religion was not to save souls for a future life, but to save the community or the nation for this life. The realm of the dead, Sheol, was a cheerless and shadowy place where neither rewards nor punishments were distributed. These, if they come at all, must come on earth. Even in Old Testament literature so late as the Book of Daniel, the unrewarded and the unpunished only are called back from the dead to receive on earth the rewards and punishments which as yet no one imagines may be dispensed by divine justice after death. What is more pertinent in this connection, the benefits and the penalties of religion, especially in the pre-exilic period, are administered to the nation. The twenty-eighth chapter of Deuteronomy is a striking illustration of this nationally administered *ante mortem* theodicy, which presupposes collective responsibility. The individual is nothing; the nation, everything. The peace and prosperity of the estates of the realm are the Old Testament analogue for the peace of conscience which makes for a healthy condition of spiritual life in the individual Christian. It need scarcely be pointed out that the practice of morality must be guided largely by pruden-

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tial considerations where the purposes of religion are thus conceived. Only on an individualistic theory of human conduct can either the fear of consequences or the hope of reward act as an efficient incitement. Besides, goodness as an ideal to be achieved for its own sake still hides behind nearer and more tangible ideals. But henceforward the growth of ethical ideals in Old Testament times is found closely associated with the rise of ethical individualism. While Jeremiah does not clearly enunciate a doctrine of individual responsibility, yet his entire conception of God and of religion served as a powerful stimulus toward the recognition of the moral value of the individual. Communistic and official religion was chiefly identified with ritual homage which he disparaged. The moral obedience, on the other hand, which he preached, pointed directly to the individual. This is the real bearing of the fine passage in which he contrasts the priestly type of religion with his own hope of a better one: "I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their hearts will I write it (xxxi. 33). Conduct born of the knowledge of a "law" graven upon the heart is not found in the chain-gang of a formal state religion. Here also belongs, as germane to the spirit of Jeremiah, the famous passage doubtfully ascribed to Micah: "Wherewith shall I come before Jahveh, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before him with burnt-offerings, with calves a year old? will Jahveh be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth Jahveh require of thee, but to do justly, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God?" (Mi. vi. 6-8). Jeremiah stands for an untraditionalized conscience and an open road. Ezekiel, though he is the first to react against the old religious collectivism, is a less effective apostle of ethical individualism than Jeremiah of Anathoth. But with the former the subject enters upon a new and more complicated stage of development which is more properly described as Jewish.

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SOME ESSENTIAL ASPECTS OF MODERN ART.*

FREDERIC C. TORREY.

To determine the worth of anything it is necessary to know the direction in which its value is supposed to lie. I find an instrument lying out in the sand. I pick it up, find I can neither hammer with it nor saw with it, and, my mechanical ingenuity being exhausted in these efforts, throw it away as valueless. The man who has lost it, later explains to me its immense importance as contributing to ends of which I had no adequate conception. Certain scientific theories ranking to-day as of the very highest value have not at their appearance been recognized as of value. Everyone knows how pearls of literature have long been overlooked; and that in all the arts what we by common consent call priceless possessions have been not only tardily recognized in some cases, but subjected to revilement and the bitterest opposition in others. Rembrandt was neglected and died in near approach to poverty, while Franz Hals, Ver Meer of Delft, in the North, and Botticelli in the South, (to mention, among a possible many, only those whose preeminence is unquestioned and of common report), have been recognized at anything like their true value only in the later nineteenth century.

There is not a person present who has not a definite acquaintance with the work of Millet, who would not claim a

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sympathy with it, who would not assent to recognize in it qualities of deepest human value, who does not inwardly marvel that anyone could ever have been so blind as not to detect the epic value in "The Sower" or "The Man With the Hoe." Yet his work was called "bestial," "gross," "degrading" (his concern with peasant life was held to be a proof of the lowness of his mind); and the fact that he could not interest himself in the task of academic composition in the manner of Delaroche, his master, was held to be a proof of his mediocrity as an artist.

I cannot be so confident of counting upon your equal sympathy in the cases of Manet and Whistler, for example, largely because reproductions are in this case inadequate; but you will all be aware of the superlative excellence of these men from the standpoint of current criticism and of the fact that few influences have been more potent upon recent painters. I desire to mention them with Millet as being contemporary with him—scorned, at the beginning, in the same way, tardily recognized in the same way, triumphing at the end in the same way; but in bracketing the three together for the purpose of displaying their common experience, it develops at once that we can bracket them together in almost no other way. If we assume their genius, their triumph, their remarkable influence, we must equally remark the differences in their genius, and in their influence. The moment I begin concretely to deal with these differences the subject opens out in a maze of parentheses in which I feel myself already bewildered. Let me suggest how.

Millet's subjects dealt with aspects of human life. He tried, to use his own words, to depict the "fundamental side of men and things." It will be useful to us to make a further quotation from him, words drawn from him *apropos* of "The Man With a Hoe:" "There are those who say I deny the country its charms . . . I can see clearly enough the aureole of the marigold and the sun away down yonder, very, very far over the land spreading its glory

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amid the clouds; but just as clearly I see on the plain below the steaming horses at work and on that rocky spot an utterly-tired-out man, whose panting one has heard since morning, and who now tries to stand erect a moment and breathe. The drama is enveloped in splendor." And further: "You reproach me with insensibility to charm. Why, I open your eyes to that which you do not perceive, but which is none the less real: the dramatic."

As I have said, I assume with some confidence that you are sympathetically impressed by Millet's plea; that you agree with the rest of the world that the drama of human life as lived in the fields and revealed by this man is worth while for us to contemplate. Now let us leave Millet and ask ourselves, "Are the fields the only places where 'utterly-tired-out' men live out their drama?" Can you not see the life in the black countries of the mines and the foundries? Can you not see the infinity of human life, the whole scale of its drama suggested in the kaleidoscope of a great city's life; the wistfulness in the faces of the sodden poor, the tenderness in the face of the passing Sister of Charity, the spontaneous joy in the sudden laughter of a half starved gamin of the streets? Peace, turmoil, recklessness, despair, kindliness, malice, the degradation of vice, the hideous horror of the mere commonplace, the sturdy honesty of some passing workman,—this is the world, the real world, the significant world, that Millet, by the inevitable logic of his own triumph, opened up to us.

There is no possible way to accept "The Sower" and not to accept "The Man With the Hoe." There is no possible way to accept "The Man With the Hoe" and not to accept the equally epic revelation of Steinlen, for example, working amongst the Parisian poor, and the work of a score of others whom I shall not distinguish by name here, all of whom have added distinctly and worthily to the sum of our emotional apprehension of human life, its full sunlight and its deep shadow, its peaks and abysses. We climb Vesuvius in full view of the wondrous panorama of the most

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smiling of lands; we turn and gaze into the horrid pit which bombards us with sulphur fumes.

I turn now abruptly back to the name of Manet. It is wholly clear to us all that to Millet and to Steinlen, to the entire group of men I have referred to but left un-named, the type of interest they have primarily displayed is in the human scene, the human drama. Even in that landscape of Millet's—the great desolate plain with the broken harrow close in the foreground—the feeling of man is still with us, although no living thing appears.

When we turn to Manet and seek for a broad and general summary of his type of interest we find we can write it down in antithetic terms, and yet all his canvases are filled with human forms. Just as we can say that a pure landscape by Millet is able to convey overtones of the human drama, so we can say that certain important works of Manet dealing with human forms can be contemplated with no sense of any human drama. I should like to emphasize this distinction even farther, and except for fear lest I be misunderstood in making so broad a statement I would say that often one can in Manet's work forget that human beings as such are present at all. This means, obviously, a vastly different type of interest, and this type of interest is *par excellence* modern. It is characteristic of our present civilization and is one of the glories of it; appearing, it is true, in the past, but only in the tentative, unconvincing form in which, prior to the nineteenth century, evolution had been apprehended. No prior era has been characterized as an era of evolutionary thought, as is our own; so no prior era has been characterized by such predominant accents in art matters as I have suggested here, dealing with relationships and subtleties in and for themselves, which our civilization in its totality has made possible, and no other civilization could have made possible.

What has been said so far in the broadest general terms is designed to emphasize to you that there exist fundamental contrasts between the various artistic temperaments as exemplified in contemporary work. You will thus bear with

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me in a leisurely approach to a more specific exposition of the more novel aspects of these contrasts.

Several years ago I read a paper before this club in which I tried to show the various strands which enter into the production of works of graphic art. I tried to make clear that the function of painting is to exhibit in visual symbols such truths of the world of experience as can be apprehended visually. It is an art which can appeal to us solely through our eyes, and tells us of emotions which have been awakened in the artist through visual perceptions. An analysis of the factors by which these truths pass to us from the revealing artist must therefore inevitably confine itself to terms, expressions, definitions, which pertain to visual experience; just as discussion relating to music must concern itself with terms derived from auditory experience,—tones, harmonic relations, overtones. So the factors with which we are concerned are space relations, color relations, light relations, relations of lines and surfaces, that convey to us visual suggestions of expression, of sentiment, of motion, of stress, of all things capable of being suggested to us by visual means up to the highest emotional complexity. How complex and how deep these possibilities of visual expression may be we have already seen by our description of the work of Millet and of Steinlen, for instance. But all the means used by these men to achieve these results resolve themselves into line, surface, color, light and shade relations.

Under the conditions of the older civilizations which expressed themselves so marvellously in the work of those we speak of to-day as the old Masters, the prominent interest was in the human drama, and indeed in but few aspects of that. These aspects alone were thrown open to treatment by the artists of the time, who were not employed to express themselves or their personal interests, but always as artisans to accomplish a definite and specified task. One may, perhaps, undertake to express it in this further way: that the result of the painter's effort was, in theory, foreseen—that its result was *a priori* understood.

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But we have no difficulty in seeing that when the artist's technical skill reached a point that enabled him to render adequately any desired aspects of the human drama, his curiosity and developed interest would lead him to extend as far as possible the limits within which he was allowed to work. He would inevitably introduce an unexpected element,—this unexpected element being his personal contribution. And we can see that the community itself would likewise in its turn be stimulated to a further curiosity and interest toward variety and complexity, laying increasing stress on this personal factor. This tendency on both sides is inevitable in human nature; and the volume of art history shows us a wondrous evolutionary drama, from a beginning in the simplest subjects of especial piety, to domestic episodes, as in the Birth of the Virgin; pastoral scenes, as in the Nativity; scenes of great stress and tumult, as in the Massacre of the Innocents; scenes of awful martyrdoms,—boilings, crucifixions, stonings, impalings; pageantry, as in the Adoration of the Kings; great processions stringing across vast wall spaces, under the lea, as it were, of these other permitted subjects; dogs and horses, giraffes, elephants, lions, even unicorns! It needs no pointing out to you that when this freedom of device became established, whereby an artist was enabled to accomplish his commission to paint some certain episode from Biblical story or saintly life, and at the same time to introduce elements of his own free choosing, that the examination of these latter elements as they appear throughout his work will reveal to us his personal type of interest. His topics, the titles of his commissioned work, will of necessity be the same as those of his brother workmen; but it will be in these personal characteristics that he will differ from them.

I point out in this place that I am still assuming that with all its differences, the dominant type of interest is still dramatic, that the accent is still on human life, the relations between human beings as such; and thus when we turn to Millet and Steinlen we have only another difference in

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device, but are in the same general evolutionary line, the visual exposition of the human drama.

But here I must come to closer quarters with my specific subject and your attention. Whenever any evolutionary process becomes complex abstract interests appear within it. Mankind, for instance, did not begin by establishing a system of logic, but a later interest grew up concerning itself with the relations in the domain of thought,—those relations considered as general and not specific. I need not stop to increase the list of obvious analogies.

The artist, using as his expressional instruments, line, color, light relations, soon found that these things had a life of their own, possibilities of their own, capable of general formulation, and he developed more and more an interest in unraveling these new strands of possibility in his experience. Thereafter it was not only that the figures in his compositions had a dramatic significance (which was probably all that at first his community could recognize), but the colors which he used in the vestments and backgrounds of these figures had a relationship which he studied more and more. The lines which he used gave him the visual secret of essential characteristics of construction or of motion. He found he could—a certain few could—make with these lines two figures that would stand up solidly and wrestle passionately together, even as Hercules wrestled with Antaeus. He found he could with these lines and these colors make his canvas lose its flatness as by some "Open-Sesame," and carry our spirits far into a distance over-arched by an illimitable sky. He found he was able at last to conceive and express, not only a definite place, but the idea of space—the generalized idea.

We might stop to ask here, *apropos* of this last illustration, why should not this wondrous feeling, this marvelous realization, this interest in the especial revelation, become in some particular canvas the important thing, both to the artist and to ourselves, now observing it, rather than the

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possibly commonplace drama taking place in the foreground, some betrothal of people in Oriental garb, or what not?

Such gradual shifting of attention from the relatively concrete to the relatively abstract is what took place. There was no divorce from the drama of human life, which continued to be portrayed, but interest overwhelmingly increased in the recognition and pursuit of these abstract relationships. The truths revealed were not less human in their value. They no longer necessarily connected themselves, however, with events in human history, episodes involving objectively human actors, but with subjective possibilities of human experience, the revelation of the universe external to man as reacting upon his emotional life.

We shall always have an interest in the dramatic aspects of experience, and we have touched upon the fact at some length that this dramatic research goes on unquenched in our own day, and, we cannot but believe, always will go on. But the age in which we live is especially characterized by its augmented interest in such aspects of the universe as are not directly concerned in human relationships. Never has mankind been so curious as to the variety of the universe. Nothing now fails to interest us. Science has accustomed us to think of the dignity of all phenomena, to believe that every insignificant item about us that now sits Cinderella-like, to-morrow may stand forth before us in the robes of a princess.

These original tendencies observable from early times have, under our present community-conditions, been able to stand forth unconcealed and unashamed, pursued for their own sake, welcomed for their own sake; and just as the artist has been enabled to pursue only those things in which his interest is keen, and to avoid things alien to him —as Millet rejected the academic composition in Delaroche's studio—so has advance been rapid, rapid beyond—in many cases far beyond—the possibility of a general community to keep pace. I am told that in the biological world

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the interest is so keen in problems bearing on heredity following the restatement of Mendel's work that by the time a volume of results can get to the press and into the eager scientific public's hands, a drastic revision is needed. Much the same thing has been true in this aesthetic field. The enthusiasm has been for generations most intense, the work has been of the utmost value, but the very necessities of the case have confined true understanding and proper valuation of it to the very centers of art production. The results are for the most part incapable of representation by photography; and can only be set forth in word language by roundabout methods, highly technical and vastly unsatisfactory at best. Even the cultivated world is thus likely to be a generation behind the vanguard in the greater centers.

Having thus occupied myself in asserting the fact of fundamental differences observable in the field of our modern art, may I now logically proceed with you to the study of the fundamental identities to be discovered in works superficially unlike, which will lead us to make a necessary excursion into the domain of pure design?

Design deals wholly with the placing of pictorial elements. We are so constituted psychically that a certain gratification follows, in our experience, the carrying out of certain ascertained principles of order, of proportion, of balance, of rhythm, of repetition, of variety. These principles are combined in what we call a general thory of composition. We can compose, or design, with reference to our arrangement of lines, or the placing of what we in our pictures call masses; or with reference to the distribution of light and shadow, or the relations and balances of color; and in still other ways, or in all these ways combined. We can take one of these principles of design, set forth a problem to be worked out much as one would state a problem in geometry, and can find it exemplified in some landscape painting, in some dramatic composition, in some Japanese print, or in some mere decoration, some formal frieze, or what not.

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In other words these principles of design are inevitably abstract. It does not matter what elements are composed. The problem is solved identically whether landscape elements or human forms are used, whether there is a naturalistic motive superadded or the question of an objective actuality is not raised.

Thus, in every painting, a certain gratification is aroused in us by the mere disposition of the various factors, just as every serious writer endeavors that his style, his arrangement of his word material, shall please, please at least by not being unpleasing. And some writers will be very greatly concerned in this problem of placing their words and phrases so that a distinct and formal pleasure shall attach to their work quite over and above what we should get from what they had to say. How otherwise would we get our term "belles lettres?"

This specific interest may be carried to great heights of subtlety, and in certain poetical forms the problem of word-design becomes pre-eminent. So it is in graphic art. Certain types of it concern themselves with patterns, with formal arrangements, with fugues in color, and symphonies in tone, and sonnets and triolets and ballades-royal in line, which is only a roundabout way of saying that fundamental in every work of art, is this element of arrangement, of form, of design. However great the spontaneity, however white hot the passion, it exhibits itself inevitably according to these principles of design; and may I by repetition make sure that your attention and my intention are not parting company, and remind you that, as the principles of design are fundamentally dependent upon their power to gratify, to allure, so, in so far forth, every work of art, whatever the mental association of its subject, exhibits an inherent quality of "allure."

Wherever differentiation has been possible in this world's history, which is only to say wherever complexity is manifested, differentiation has occurred. We have referred to the dramatic, essentially human factor; to the

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expressional type concerned with more abstract relationships as revealing possibilities in human experience other than dramatic; and we have now referred to the type of artist considered specifically as designer, a maker of patterns. It is obvious to you that these types may blend. Wherever there is drama there must be two-fold blending inasmuch as there must be adequate design. But design—the fundamental type—may exist as an end in itself, concerned only with problems and results of placing, of arranging.

If pure design has refence to something outside itself, of which it becomes a part, we call it decoration. Thus, decoration properly and strictly so-called, is judged by the canons of pure design, and we are likely to fall into the habit of calling things "decorative" when we mean that they are essentially to be judged by these canons of design, and that the other factors may frankly be recognized as subordinate. There is moveover an element of immediacy in "decorative" work. The allure must not be too subtle; it must be evident, obvious, primary.

I may not need to point out, to this audience, that one is necessarily diagramatic in an attempt such as this, to establish types; and that these have the same rigidity, no more no less, than biological types with their areas of shading and blending. For our own special study of the meaning of modernity we must draw our picture with broad strokes. So that I trust it will serve, to say that in the earlier time, that of the painting of wall spaces and the filling of altar frames, the result had a conscious purpose of decoration which often rose to unquestioned predominance in the network of the artist's interests, whatever dramatic or other elements may have been introduced. As the opportunity for the filling of such spaces passed away, with the development of Protestantism on the one hand, and the lack of architectural spaces on the other, the necessity for the predominant accent on the decorative element passed, but not the necessity for adequate design, the *sine qua non* then and now and forever in all graphic work.

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I pause a further moment on this point. If the principles of design are based on the capacity in us to receive definite visual gratification, the development of these principles will be accompanied by a definite motive to allure. The word "beauty" was early and consistently used to denominate such elements as contained this quality of "allure." A relative scale of value was recognized, inasmuch as certain types of allure proved relatively fundamental and permanent, others superficial and transitory. So long, however, as the graphic arts contained a predominant decorative motive, involving the necessity for a relatively great allure, the word "beauty" was essential in expressing the degree of success; and, if we demanded to know how or why a given work was "beautiful" we would at once (and as I have said, consistently) have been referred to its qualities of design. And we would have found, inevitably, so long as this decorative necessity endured or predominated, a tendency toward a definite allure in every factor, and an avoidance, even in drama, of all elements or types not lending themselves readily to this synthetic ideal—based, as we have noted, in the last analysis on the principle of allure.

But the moment the decorative motive ceases to predominate, when the differentiation of the types has freely begun, when the essence of drama is seen to lie in its intensity of emotional significance, a seeming paradox develops. From the point of view of the drama it is seen to be absurd to avoid or to modify in the interest of allure those elements necessary to reveal the fullest significance of the drama; at the same time, allure seems somewhere essential to the very idea of the work of art.

To state the paradox is to solve it. The allure is and remains where it always was, in the elements of design. Whatever the items, in any work of art whatsoever, their arrangement is a necessity; an arrangement that may be linear or tonal, or chromatic, but "beautiful," full of allure. And just as you judge the performance of a juggler with no reference to the color-harmony of the balls he manipu-

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lates with such skill, so we have recognized, in spite of our refinements of "good taste," this wondrous allure, this positive beauty, in Dutch taverns and noisy Kirmesses with Brouwer or Ostade, Teniers or Rubens.

In the process of freeing the drama in its development, intensity of significance is seen to take the place of decorative qualities, which reduce themselves to a minimum. And we note the development at that moment of the etching, which has its reason for being in the striving to find the maximum of expressional effect, which necessarily involves the minimum of conscious decorative intent. One might say that the formal composition remains grammatical but ceases to be rhetorical. In the etching we reach the utmost limit of differentiation in that direction.

The other limit of differentiation is found in modern stained glass. I quote a famous designer of it: "A panel of stained glass is primarily an exercise in color and secondly a piece of design; a matter of balance and contours; while subject counts for nothing, being merely an excuse for the exercise of the artist's skill in the two main characteristics."

The development of landscape, characteristic of course of the modern period, falls into the second of the categories I have sought to establish. It is sufficiently obvious that in the case of the modern landscape—the Corot, the Rousseau, the Keith that may come to your mind—the motive is neither dramatic nor decorative. It exists without reference to anything outside its own frame, registering, above all, the personal interest of the artist. It is equally obvious that the range of possibility here is infinite. This expression of interest in the world without may range from consideration of great, all-inclusive moods of panorama and weather, of "nature" as we popularly speak of her and her "aspects," to considerations of special relationship among restricted types of phenomena—just as one may prefer to carry a single blossom rather than an old-time bouquet. You will see at once that the moment you formally re-

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linquish any dramatic intent, all objects stand on a theoretically equal footing, and that a human form may, in a given aesthetic problem, be present on identical terms with a rock or a tree, a table or a lamp. For example, consider those spots of neccesary color in Mr. Keith's meadows generally referred to as "cows"; or the vertical series of colored dots in a Barbizon landscape which suggest some peasant woman trudging homeward!

If you have followed me here, into and through my last paragraph, you will find yourself breathing the air of modernity. I feel myself affected by the image of Mr. Keith's cows, so that I most strongly desire somehow to hold your attention while I cautiously put up the bars in your rear. You are now in the field of relationships. Over the fence in a beautiful meadow are our dramatic brothers, but we are to pay no present attention to them. We are in a land of equal opportunity. The dawn, the full-noon, the twilight, alike appeal to us; the river that bathes the roots of the trees no less than the subtler current that laves the upper branches; the light that dances from leaf or wavelet no less than the heavenly glow; the relation of the greens in yonder willow, changing their pitch of color with every new day, filling us with a new revealed joy akin to that of the violinist as he learns the possibilities of tone within the octave. Could I lead you, do you suppose, little by little into the secret of every—would you say chance?—relationship under the guardianship of the genius of light? Or would you prefer to disentangle the strands of color woven in the visual tapestry wherever your eye may happen to rest—for, do not forget, the tapestry is there wherever you look—or to learn the secret of the bending of the zephyr-touched rushes, the scudding of the clouds; the marvel of motion?

If you will stay but a leisurely hour in this enchanted land you will gain this insight: that which we may call the "definite place" is seized upon only that it may give up the secrets of abstract truth, a truth of relationship. And

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if the selection of this "definite place," this locus unique in its possibility of rendering up the precise relationship under observation, is criticized by the uninitiated—as if not the abstraction but the underlying fact were the motive of the so-called selection—a false criticism results.

Claude Monet did not paint haystacks, but the epic of light,—the sunlight, the haystack, the atmospheric envelope being mere factors not to be mentioned apart. You are not interested in the fact that when you are thirsty what you require is an atom of hydrogen joined to another atom of hydrogen, and those to an atom of oxygen. The only interesting thing is the fact of the relation between these atoms, the expression of which relation is the word 'water.' So, precisely, a combination of visual elements in a painting by Edouard Manet means but one thing—their identical visual relation before your eyes; and the moment the factors are separated or are conceived of in other combinations or associations either physical or mental—Manet vanishes. All that you would say has no relevancy. There are no separable elements, no items; only a relation. The hydrogen and oxygen of Manet's picture have no relation whatever to the thirst which his completed work has satisfied in you.

I have turned from Monet to Manet, in this last statement, in order to emphasize the difficulty which is the greatest in all this subject to those whose actual experience is limited, *viz.*, the presence of human forms in many of these aesthetic relation-studies with no dramatic intent, no really human motive. In some exhibition a Millet and a Manet may hang side by side, and may require quite different appreciation-points, except in so far as both involve the problems of design, in which case and to that extent the same canons of criticism must apply.

Before leaving this category, which involves thus our discovery and interpretation of the visible universe in terms of the relationships it offers to us, I must say a brief word concerning popular apprehension of such work. Leaving

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out of account those difficulties which are based in the ambiguities of terminology, or the confusion of critical points of view, you will recognize as inevitable that the more obvious relationships will be most easily apprehended by the layman, who will be bound to translate what he sees painted in terms of his own experience. The more special forms of relation-study will require especial efforts of attention for him successfully to follow. Studies that are so ultra-special and so intense as to remind one almost of analysis under the blow-pipe, will be very long indeed in reaching the popular consciousness in terms of insight. So one would expect to find that the very simple and wholly unconcealed relationships in Mr. Thad Welch's admirable landscapes arouse an immediate response. The allure of the design-elements is adequate to its purpose, and the revelation of the universe is wholly within the capacity of the most casual observer. So, too, one would expect to find that the permanent qualities of Mr. William Keith's work were long hidden from the community in which he lives, and that after long training and affectionate attention, it has discovered qualities far beyond its original possibilities to comprehend and enjoy. And you will note that in direct ratio with their inexperience, his patrons require "definite places" of him—Mount Shasta—Russian River—instead of those more lasting revelations expressible only in more abstract terms.

From these simple and obvious examples you cannot fail to expect that before the work of such a man as Whistler the proverbial "man in the street" will be bewildered. To-day we speak in most reverent and grateful terms of the very things that thirty years ago suggested to a famous writer the image of a coxcomb flinging a pot of paint in the face of a gullible public.

At one period in our experience we accept as having value—value for us—works which are just a little less superficial than we ourselves are in a given respect. The moment we pass sympathetically under the influence of an

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artist with deeper insight and assimilate his results, our scale of values changes, we see ourselves no longer surpassed by our former helper, but as his peers, even his competent and possibly severe critics. In other words, we discuss him from the standpoint of what we have found it is possible to accomplish, and which he, accepting the task, has or has not accomplished. Historically considered, an artist under consideration must have attained to something beyond the average attainment of the community in which he has worked in order to maintain his place in our esteem. In a great many respects—just as I suppose is true in music, in mechanics, in mathematics—the limits of possibility have been reached in certain restricted directions. At the head, then, of certain lines of growth stand the names of certain men whose very names seem to mean to us the truths which they pre-eminently represent. Bach, as I imagine, can never be dislodged from a certain position in music. So we think of a long list of names, constantly being added to, which can never be displaced. Others may reach them in these especial respects by a completeness of assimilation, and this is very common; but we demand, inevitably, something more than a mere echo, however clever. To get into our Valhalla an artist must bring some contribution of his own. It is not his province to tell old wives' tales of what has been done. If this is the extent of his power, we send him into the provinces to ameliorate their condition in so far as may be possible, to bring their power of apprehension nearer to the central standard of possible experience.

It is clear enough, then, why we have no one striving to overtop Raphael or Leonardo, Michael Angelo or Velasquez or Titian or Rubens. And it is equally clear, I suppose, why in certain places and to certain people, the pictures on the covers of glove boxes or in the Christmas Supplements and on some of the walls of the Tate gallery in London, will possess a greater allure, and excite greater reactions of interest and pleasure than the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel or a Nocturne of Whistler.

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We rise by steps of partial truth, until we reach such adequacy of expression that we are not able to conceive of the work being better done. Then we prize it for that which has been done, that kind of perfection which it reveals, and we judge it solely with reference to the specific kind of perfection toward which it has striven, and we do not judge it with reference to standards of other perfection toward which it has not striven.

The type of interest shown by the painter as a specialist will and must change from time to time. The painter's interest will inevitably turn toward the freshest fields of pictorial possibility; just as this is true for every other type of humanity without exception. Every human being spends his life annexing experiences from the vast matrix of experience which surrounds him on every side. We do not forget the principles of steam engineering merely because, finding electricity more efficient in many ways, we seek to find and establish those ways. So in the aesthetic field. We abandon no capacities for feeling merely because we seek to raise to a higher efficiency new factors in emotional experience, making the new take their dignified place among the recognized older ones. It will inevitably happen that some given time will find at a given place an exhibition of stumbling first steps. A "school" in art means a concentration of attention upon a specific type of interest. Nothing is more inevitable than that this concentration should have its period of awakening, of enthusiasm, of full maturity, of decline, of worn-out interest. The cycles at different places will not correspond exactly. The torch is handed from one country to another and never remains fixed in one spot. This is true whether of science or philosophy, of literature or the graphic arts. Even Norway captures the prize for the greatest influence in the drama; Russia sets an indelible mark on literature; Japan furnishes a precious golden thread to run through our entire occidental art.

As my final word, I may perhaps draw upon the logician for an analogy that shall prove illustrative. I would say,

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then, that a specific aesthetic field constitutes a definite "universe of discourse." If I go into the domain of decoration I must agree to leave outside all emotional associations that my practical life requires. I must not attribute cruelty to any tiger, nor carnivoracity. If I go into the dramatic realm, as, say, with Rembrandt, I can and must carry with me all such associations, for drama means the exhibition of qualities. If I confront Rubens I must not confuse his well-defined "universe of discourse," the only one he knows or works in, with that of Fra Angelico. The unphilosophic or inexperienced critic confronts the world of art in the mental attitude of the Englishman who lands in Calais complaining that he is surrounded by foreigners. Experience teaches the naïve critic that it is he himself who is the foreigner; and he sets himself to learn the idiom; and every time he crosses a boundary line he must acquire a new idiom. Every competent critic must have capacity for life in a variety of "universes of discourse," and he must know how to keep the bounds.

Bearing in mind the truth that if we would gain the kingdom of heaven we must become as little children, we find that the essence of modernity lies in that text. We shall confront the life work of an artist much in the spirit of childhood that would prompt us to say: Once upon a time there was an artist, and he made himself a world and he invited us into it and he made us welcome there.

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ARTICULATION OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS.*

C. L. BIEDENBACH.

It has been claimed for some years that a radical change is needed in the school work of the seventh, eighth, and ninth years. These years mark the close of the elementary and the beginning of the secondary periods in our school system as now organized. The claim is based on many grounds. Among the most important are the facts that fully fifty per cent. of our pupils leave school at the end of the sixth grade, that the work of the seventh and eighth grades is largely a repetition or at most a fruitless continuation of the work of the sixth grade, and that there is then a complete break, new subjects and new methods being taken up without adequate preparation for the change, which causes another exodus and a demoralization of the few who try to continue into the fields which are really new.

In order to make this paper as practical and definite as possible, I have spent some time in studying programs of various schools to ascertain the time allotment of the different subjects taught in the seventh and eighth grades. I find that there is no very exact agreement; but still there does exist a general uniformity. The ordinary school program provides for twenty-five hours, or 1500 minutes per week, out of which 140 minutes are allowed for recreation, leaving 1360 for recitation and study. In schools where

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Manual and Domestic Arts, Music, and Drawing are recognized, this time is divided about as follows:

English (meaning Reading and Literature)	300 minutes
Language, Grammar, and Composition	200 minutes
Arithmetic	300 minutes
Geography	120 minutes
History	110 minutes
Civics	30 minutes
Spelling	40 minutes
Drawing	80 minutes
Manual or Domestic Arts	90 minutes
Music	90 minutes
Total	1360 minutes

In English, Language-work, Arithmetic, History, and Geography, the time is about equally divided between recitation and study.

In many schools no time at all is given to Drawing, Manual or Domestic Arts, and very little to Music. This extra time is given to more work in the other subjects. In district schools, where the session continues until four o'clock, the additional three hundred minutes are also devoted to more work in the same technical branches.

When we turn to the course of study of the ninth grade we find more uniformity. Pupils generally take four subjects from a list comprising English, Mathematics, History, Latin, French, and German; and in some schools, Spanish, General Science, Drawing, Commercial branches, Manual and Domestic Arts. About four-fifths of the time is given to recitation in the four subjects chosen and the remaining one-fifth to what is called study. Most of the preparation for recitation is made outside school.

The question at once arises, are our public schools making the best use of their time when they give so much of it to the study of subjects which appear to fit only for the culture side of human life? Should our school education not also furnish a preparation for the practical things of life?

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In order to answer this question, we must establish a few guiding principles concerning the educational needs of the children attending the schools. We can easily come to an agreement in regard to the work of the first six grades. In these grades, the children should learn how to read and write, and should memorize the fundamental rules in Arithmetic, with their applications, and enough of the larger movements of the history of the world to understand that here is a fascinating region which it is very much to their advantage to explore. They should also be filled with enthusiasm to seek acquaintance with their surroundings in nature, and should be taught to use their fingers in the making of simple things which require accuracy and somewhat concentrated attention.

When this preliminary training has been received the child should have acquired the rudiments of knowledge and some ability in the actual making and doing of things. He should also have a strong desire to find out more about things, and it is folly to keep on giving him further installments of the same kind of training without giving him the content wherewith to satisfy the cravings which have been instilled. He is ready to undertake deeper study into the larger problems of life and to enter upon a more or less specialized pursuit of the studies which are adapted to his individual characteristics and which will largely determine his future occupation in life. At this period, moreover, there comes a complete change in his physical nature, the beginning of the adolescent period. Both boys and girls become restless, begin to have ideas of their own, and demand a change in both mental and manual occupation. It is because these simple pedagogical and physical facts have not been estimated at their proper weight that large numbers of our pupils leave school, and it is the duty of the school authorities to provide the proper remedy.

At this point in a discussion of this kind it is customary for some one to raise the objection that our course of study is already crowded, or, at least, that there is not room for

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the introduction of more material. I am fully in accord with this view, but hold that it is not necessary in this case to try to put more into a basket already full. Enough can be taken out to good advantage to make ample room for all that should go in. The time has arrived for a complete readjustment of the present curriculum above the sixth grade, including not only the seventh and eighth grades, but the present high school grades as well. Every subject should have good reasons for being there. Those that have been in use for generations must prove their right to continue, just as the newer claimants must prove their right to entrance. No study can be retained merely because it is preparatory to future work in higher schools, because it is of value as mental discipline, or because it has been there for a long time. Increased efficiency for life can alone be accepted as sufficient excuse for inclusion in the course of study.

With this test in mind I shall consider briefly the subjects at present listed in our curriculum.

In many schools, especially district schools, reading in the seventh and eighth grades is merely a continuation of the work in the lower grades. This is not so general a practice, however, as it was some years ago. The course in our city schools at the present time, and in most of our better country schools, has been very much enriched. The work can, with some justice, be classed as literature. It combines both reading proper and the study of masterpieces. In these schools there is more apt to be a tendency to put too much work under the head of reading than not enough. Pupils should be given a taste for good literature. They should make the acquaintance of Dickens, Scott, Irving, Lowell, Holmes, Stevenson, and Shakespeare; but it is not necessary that they should take a full course in these authors. The work done in the school should be such that a taste for good reading will be engendered. It should cause the pupil to do his culture-reading at home, or during his leisure moments. The emphasis should be laid upon the

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method of doing work, rather than upon the quantity of work done. In this way much better results will be secured, while considerable time will be saved out of the three hundred minutes usually given to this work.

Grammar and composition are usually taught as separate subjects and nearly as much time is given to them as to reading. This is radically wrong. They should be taught in connection with the English work. Only so much grammar is needed in these grades as will enable the pupil to understand written and spoken language and to use it correctly in his own writing and speaking. Further work in technical grammar should be postponed to the high school proper, and to the fourth year of the high school rather than the first. Composition should be a daily exercise, but it should come in as part of the regular work in language and reading. It is absurd to set off a single hour a week for a special exercise called composition when the subject which especially gives the material for composition work is taught every day in the week.

It would be a needless use of time to specify in detail the work done in arithmetic in the seventh and eighth grades. It is a well known fact that the best portion of the time of these grades has for generations been given to this subject; and the result has not even been to give us good arithmeticians. Pupils go through the work as through a tread-mill, come out tired and bored, and have not even the satisfaction of feeling better prepared to do more work of the same kind. Mathematics should be an important part of the work, but it should be real mathematics and not perplexing problems in complicated arithmetic. There should be a course in mathematics which would include the use of the equation and certain applications of concrete geometry, particularly such as are helpful to the work of manual training. The essential elements of geometry, algebra, and arithmetic should be combined in a single unified course of study. Geometrical drawing, both free hand and by use of instruments, should form a part of this work.

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The drawing of plans, and the simpler mathematical problems of architecture, could well be included. Mathematical work especially should be connected as much as possible with the facts and experiences of every day life. Were a course shaped with this definite intention the amount of time usually given to the study of mathematics would not be so much of a waste.

Perhaps the most unprofitable of the studies in the present curriculum are geography and history. It is a crime that this should be so, for they can be made the most useful. I class them together because their underlying principles are the same. Here again it is the *How* rather than the *What* that counts. It is impossible to cover the entire universe or the whole history of the human race in general study, or any considerable part in intensive study. As a general principle, we might lay down the rule that nothing should be taught which is dead. Unimportant dates, names, places, facts, should be eliminated. The main thing is to get children thoroughly interested in finding out about the world they live in and the people who inhabit this world now and those who have done so in times past. When this interest has been thoroughly established, the gratification of the desire will follow naturally, and the child's education along these lines will become a continuous process through life. A great deal of time is spent in studying constitutional history under the mistaken notion that this is the way to inculcate patriotism. Other abstruse problems in law, finance, etc., are taught, which mean nothing to the pupil and simply give him a distaste for the whole subject of history. All this technical work should be eliminated, and the time thus saved should be given to the study of general history in biographical form.

A real, vital interest in the laws of his country can be instilled in the pupil only by having a practical experience with them. I have tried this in my own school, by introducing a simple form of student control. This is a matter which requires careful handling. When introduced as a

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method of discipline its operation is very apt to be a failure. It should result, and does result when properly operated, in better discipline; but from my point of view its chief benefits lie along the line of education in civic responsibility. Children are taught how our laws are made and executed. They are taught how to act in positions of responsibility, and above all, how to behave as good citizens. This is real, practical work, and can be taught in any school. Along with it can go the study of the larger problems in community life,—how the matters of food supply and water supply, protection from criminals, care of the sick and the insane, are handled. Such work leads naturally to a correlation with the subjects of hygiene and nature study. It is not the anatomy of their bodies that pupils need to be taught, but how to care for their bodies.

We may dismiss the subjects of penmanship and spelling with the mere statement that they can be taught only by giving constant attention to them whenever they are used. It is idle to spend a fifteen minute period, for instance, each day in these subjects, and then pay no more attention to them for the rest of the day. In reply to a series of questions recently put to a number of my pupils as to why they spelled so poorly, the answers were almost unanimous that the trouble was due to inattention, to carelessness. The pupils themselves realize that they give no thought whatever to the spelling of the word, but concentrate their thought entirely on the subject matter to be expressed; and I fear that the teachers are doing the same thing.

I am always glad to see considerable time given to the subjects of music and drawing. As I have indicated before, drawing has a very practical value in our daily life,—especially mechanical drawing. I am inclined, however, to advocate free-hand drawing, and even water-color painting, fully as warmly; if not for their practical value, then all the more for their aesthetic value. Drawing is another mode of expression, and a very important one. It trains

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the observation by teaching children what to look for in nature; but above all, it gives an appreciation of the beautiful in our surroundings. And what greater asset can a human being possess than the ability to enjoy his environment? The same is true of music. It has its aesthetic value and its ethical value. It trains the emotions and the feelings. Through the nature of its songs and the character of their rendering, it cultivates, or can cultivate, any kind of feeling,—kindness, gentleness, patriotism. It is essentially a character builder.

The subjects enumerated thus far are all included in the course of study of our most advanced schools. As I have tried to show, there is good reason for teaching all of them; but they can be taught with more profit than is generally the case, and still much time can be saved for other work.

What then shall this other work be? Before attempting to answer the question, I wish again to emphasize what I have already said about the change in the life of a child which comes during the upper grammar grades. During this period of adolescence comes a change in the child's desires and needs. I do not assert that the child is capable of expressing his own desires and selecting his own particular lines of work, but I do claim that from this time on his work should be most carefully selected for him. It is because this is not done that so many leave school at this period. The girls stay because they have nothing better to do. The boys leave because they can go to work, which would not be such a bad thing if it were not true that they go through life handicapped by a one-sided development. The school should give at this time a variety of new work from which a proper choice can be made for the pupils by those who are most familiar with their needs.

In the course of my comments upon the subjects which are generally taught, I have suggested modifications which would amount almost to changing them into new subjects. There are, however, some subjects which for most schools

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can be called new in the strict sense of the word, and which should find a place in every public school. The Manual and Domestic Arts come under this head. The work comprised under these titles has been taught in special schools for years, and has slowly but surely proved its right to be included in some form, dependent somewhat upon local needs, in the course of study of every public school. I shall not consider special phases, such as courses in agriculture for rural districts and trade courses for certain portions of the city schools. I wish merely to make a general plea for such of the work as is beneficial to all children.

There is no nobler occupation in life for a woman than that of a successful home-maker. This is said with full knowledge of the fact that all women do not attain or even wish for this dignity in life, and that, therefore, thousands of them have to spend their lives in other occupations. The fact still remains that the one great sphere of a woman's usefulness is in the home. She alone can make the home what it ought to be. It is the noblest occupation on earth, for the whole progress of mankind rests upon it. Mental, moral, and spiritual development depend upon the happy home. It is therefore necessary that a people give primary attention to the development of those who rule in the home. I am not one of those who think that cooking and sewing should be woman's chief occupation in life; but it is a simple fact that these occupations are essential in a home, and women must be thoroughly familiar with them, though they may not need to do the actual work involved. Is there, then, any argument needed in favor of giving thorough and systematic instruction in these branches to all girls during those years when they acquire it most readily?

It is true that many girls get all the instruction of this kind that they need from the best teacher on earth, namely, their mother. But how serious is the fact, though it be a sad truth, and one we admit with reluctance, that by far the greater majority receive either no training whatever or, what is infinitely worse, only such training as tends to

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fasten upon them habits of housekeeping which are little short of pernicious.

It is, then, for the good of the whole, for the individual, and thus for the mass, that we must insist upon the right kind of instruction along these lines during the seventh, eighth, and ninth years of our public schools, no matter what technical drill in rules of grammar and arithmetic may have to give way.

Now, as to manual art for boys. This consists essentially in shop work for the older boys. They are taught how to handle all sorts of carpenter's tools. The kinds of work done varies with the proficiency of the pupils and the views of different teachers; but they are essentially alike in that they teach boys how to do things.

In the shop at McKinley school, the boys have made chairs for the Principal's office, and a table and a grandfather's clock for the main hall. These they have made for the school. Besides, the boys have made many things for use in their own homes. It is difficult to say in which way the pupils receive most benefit from this sort of work, whether from that which they do for themselves, which of course gives them additional things in their homes, or from that which they do for the school. Out of the latter work there arises a development of the altruistic feelings which is of direct benefit in the up-building of character. And I would like to say, by the way, that this is one of the most important things which school work of any kind should accomplish in the life of the pupil. On the other hand, a boy thus trained in school immediately becomes an important factor in the family life by the assistance that he can be around the house. He can save many a carpenter's bill.

By experimenting in this kind of work in the school, a boy learns to place himself. He finds out early in life what particular trade or vocation he is best fitted for. In our school work we have apparently been going on the supposition that every boy has to be trained to follow some profession or mental occupation. This is one of the reasons

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why so many of our children leave school at the end of the sixth grade. They become tired of the eternal book-work, which does not seem to lead anywhere but to more book-work. They long for some occupation in which the hands are employed; and so they leave the school and go out directly into manual occupations. Perhaps nine-tenths of these children could be immensely benefited by further text-book work in school, provided this were coupled with enough of the manual work to keep them interested. By doing this kind of work in the school, the hand-worker would have a better chance to determine what particular trade he is fitted for, and to which he would most like to devote his life.

This is the purely practical side of the argument. There remains, however, another side, which to my mind is of fully as great importance, possibly more. After all, the state school-system is maintained to educate the children not only in the ways of earning money, but also in good citizenship. And the establishment of a course in manual training in the public schools can be defended upon this ground alone. In the first place, it develops precision and accuracy. It is impossible to do a half-way job in sawing a board, and have the fact escape attention. The sawing is either straight or not straight. There is no chance for pretense. The teacher and the boy alike know whether the work has been correctly done. This accuracy of work goes hand in hand with honesty of judgment. This is work in which the boy can be his own judge as to the value of results. For this reason he learns to stand upon his own feet. The habit of self-reliance is thus developed. He is given a certain piece of work to accomplish, and it becomes his duty to be responsible for the results.

We can readily see how these habits of accuracy, honesty and self-reliance, when coupled with the ability to handle tools and the mental habit of learning how to study, will make for good citizenship. The young man who starts in life thus evenly balanced cannot help but become an im-

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portant factor in his community. You will find him a leader in doing right things, because he has not been turned out into the world with a one-sided development.

Quite as strong an argument can be made in behalf of Latin or some modern foreign language for those pupils who need to study a language. To force a foreign language upon American children would, of course, be folly. But successful work in foreign languages carried on for years in the so-called cosmopolitan schools of large cities and in the many private schools of the country proves the value of beginning such subjects early in the child's life if he needs them in his future career. In McKinley School we taught Latin, French, German, and Spanish to pupils of the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades for three years when these languages were not a part of the regular course of study. The classes met at half after eight in the morning, and were taught by post-graduate students from the State University. Even under these disadvantageous conditions the desire for instruction was so great that twelve classes were maintained continuously, averaging from six to twenty pupils each. It was proved to our entire satisfaction that the children are thoroughly competent to handle these subjects, and that the language study did not add to the burden already carried in their regular school work. No outside study was required of them. They were taught by the natural method; all the work was conversational. In this way they secured a good vocabulary that had the advantage of being based on concrete images. They soon acquired the ability to read new words, and to think in the language they were studying. Not being self-conscious they found little difficulty in expressing themselves in the foreign language.

In order to get the child's point of view, I at one time asked a series of questions of all those entered in the various classes, in order to ascertain whether they had any clear ideas of their own as to their reasons for studying these languages. The answers to these questions were very

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gratifying. Of course there were the usual number of answers which were either foolish, inadequate, or insincere. But I found that the majority had excellent reasons for doing the work. Some were studying, especially those in the Latin classes, with the view to making future work in the high school easier. Some of these pupils expressed the opinion that the Latin work was helpful to them in understanding their English work. Others that it was a good foundation for later work in other languages which they intended to pursue.

Many were studying Spanish for future use in business, already realizing its importance upon this coast. It may be true that this idea was put into their heads by parents or other adults; still the fact remains that these pupils were giving up playtime with the definite intention of availing themselves of the opportunity to secure help for later activities.

Similar reasons were given for studying German and French. But I was pleased to find that many pupils gave as a reason for studying these languages a desire to become conversant with the mother-tongue of their parents and relatives, so that they might be better able to converse with them and understand their point of view. Many of these pupils expressed a desire, and it was a sincere one also, to be able to read literature in its own language. Some are preparing for travel abroad. One boy, looking forward to a residence in China in the near future, gave as his reason for studying German, that the only good schools in the Chinese city of which he would be a resident, were German schools, and he wanted to be prepared to enter.

One and all were studying these modern foreign languages with the distinct intention of learning to speak them. The answers given proved conclusively that these two hundred children had definite purposes.

But one fair conclusion can be drawn from such experience, and that is that it is the duty of the schools to help children to realize such ambitions when it can be done not

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only without placing extra burdens upon them, but with the substitution of a pleasurable piece of work for that which for those particular pupils is usually needless drudgery.

There should be a general science course running through the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. That part of it relating to the care of the human body and the condition necessary for healthy and comfortable existence with one's fellow-men in community life, should be obligatory. Whether the whole course should be required depends upon what is put into it, and that depends upon those who are now engaged in its construction. If it is confined to an elementary treatment of the common things of life without going into technical details and abstruse laws it might well be taught to all pupils.

My comments thus far have applied to the work of the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades as a group, without reference to the separate grades. This has been intentional, for I believe that therein lies the solution of our problem of a better articulation. The best plan is to have, wherever practicable, three distinct school groups,—one containing the first six grades, a second the seventh, eighth and ninth grades, and a third the tenth, eleventh and twelfth grades. Whether this three-fold division into separate schools is feasible or not, the work can be thus divided in any school system. The general foundation work should be done in the first six grades. In the second stage, comprising the next three years, the work should be different in its nature and subject matter, not marked by any abrupt change, but shading gradually from the mother-control system of the elementary school to the larger independence of the High School. A change in methods of discipline should keep pace with the change in work, so that when a pupil finally reaches the high school proper good habits will have been formed and his purpose in life fairly well established. The work of the three intermediate grades should be done on the departmental plan. Teachers should be chosen who have a liberal education and the larger point of view, but who also

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have a special fitness for certain lines of work. These teachers should carry their pupils along through several grades, so that they will know their students even better than the teacher who has one class all day for a term. Of course, the change must be guarded carefully at the beginning of the seventh grade, starting, say, with two different teachers only; otherwise we should have the same abrupt break that now exists in the ninth grade.

There should be men teaching in all of these grades side by side with the women. Not because they are better teachers of any subject, better disciplinarians, or better anything else; but simply and wholly because they are competent and manly men. That of course is a necessary condition. The reasons for having men teaching in the upper grades of the schools are exactly the same as those for having a father in the home.

The subjects to be taught I have already indicated. Those grouping naturally around literature and reading, parts of the general science, health, and civics work, and some of the manual and domestic arts are all that need to be made obligatory throughout these three grades. The rest of the time should be spent in work especially selected for the pupils according to health, mental ability, and future plans. Schools will vary in the range of choice they can give according to their size, their equipment, and the amount of money at their disposal for securing the right kind of teachers. It is not necessary that each school in a city, or all the neighboring schools of an outside portion of a county, should give the same options. Schools may have to be selected for pupils in the same way that studies are selected for them. But it certainly is not reasonable that because one school cannot give its pupils what they need that therefore those pupils should be forced to take that which the school has to give, whether it is best for them or not.

We have been going along in this old rut for so many years that it seems almost impossible to break out and de-

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velop a new path. The day for new things has come, however. We must stop planning our course of study to meet the needs of those teachers who are incompetent, of those principals and superintendents who are unprogressive, and of those schools whose facilities are inadequate. This is the vital spot in the whole matter. It does little good for educational theorists to proclaim their doctrines from the lecture platform unless there are skilled workmen to carry out their ideas and the means to put them to the practical test. Tradition and present bad conditions must not be allowed to stand in the way of progress.

With the rapidly changing conditions in our modern civic and commercial life and in our moral and spiritual conceptions, the people are looking more critically into this matter of public education. They are not going to stand by and see the schools jogging along at the same old pace when the circumstances of life for which they are supposed to prepare are radically changing. It behooves the school men and women to take the lead in creating a new order of things in their own domain lest the matter be taken entirely out of their hands.

There are many encouraging signs that the reform is coming from within. Wherever a live teacher takes the place of a dead one, wherever a skilled superintendent with sound principles and nerve takes the place of a timeserver, there you will find a new curriculum, no matter what stock "Course of Study" may be printed in the Manual. These fresh sources of inspiration, co-operating with public opinion, are already producing results in the form of new studies, new gradings, new school houses, and more money for facilities and teachers, and above all, which alone justifies all the rest, groups of children full of the joy of living, going to school because they love to.

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BIRDS OF THE UNIVERSITY CAMPUS.

JOSEPH GRINNELL.

The following reference-list pertains exclusively to the area embraced in the University's holdings in Berkeley and vicinity—the campus proper together with the watershed to the east, approximately 530 acres. Only those species are included which have been recognized with certainty by the writer himself as circumstances permitted of outdoor observation during the period since August, 1908.

An estimate places the total avian population of the limited area in question at 10,000 individual birds. To realize that this is even conservative, the enquirer must take careful count of the inhabitants of the thick-foliaged oaks and laurels on the campus proper, and the dense thickets on the north-facing slopes of the hills, which are closely populated centers.

It has been found convenient to treat the birds of one locality in four categories: (1) those species which are permanently resident throughout the year; (2) those which are winter visitants, being present only during the portion of the year which includes the coldest months; (3) those which are visitors for the summer season only; and (4) those which occur merely in passing, during the spring and autumn migrations. It follows that during the mid-winter months classes 1 and 2 comprise the birds to be found in the region, and during the summer, classes 1 and 3. At

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certain times in spring and fall, members of all of the classes may be found in the same locality at the same time. All birds of classes 1 and 3 are believed to nest upon, or in the very near neighborhood of, the campus. In fact in the majority of cases eggs or young have been found.

Because of the arbitrary limitation of the present list to those species which have been seen on the University grounds, a number of well-known birds of the San Francisco Bay region are notably missing. Many of these, such as barn swallow, yellowthroat, western bluebird, and red-winged blackbird, will doubtless be added in course of time, at least as transients. Intensive observation from season to season for a series of years may be expected largely to augment the list, judging from experience under similar circumstances elsewhere. This very element of incompleteness and expectancy serves as a continual incentive to those interested in bird study to be always alert for the detection of strangers.

PERMANENT RESIDENTS.

California Quail. *Lophortyx californica.*
Western Red-tailed Hawk. *Buteo borealis calurus.*
Sparrow Hawk. *Falco sparverius.*
Barn Owl. *Aluco pratincola.*
California Screech Owl. *Otus asio bendirei.*
Pacific Horned Owl. *Bubo virginianus pacificus.*
Willow Woodpecker. *Dryobates pubescens turati.*
Red-shafted Flicker. *Colaptes cafer collaris.*
Anna Hummingbird. *Calypte anna.*
Black Phoebe. *Sayornis nigricans.*
Coast Jay. *Cyanocitta stelleri carbonacea.*
California Jay. *Aphelocoma californica.*
Western Meadowlark. *Sturnella neglecta.*
Brewer Blackbird. *Euphagus cyanocephalus.*
California Purple Finch. *Carpodacus purpureus californicus.*
California Linnet. *Carpodacus mexicanus frontalis.*
Green-backed Goldfinch. *Astragalinus psaltria hesperophilus.*
Pine Siskin. *Spinus pinus.*
English Sparrow. *Passer domesticus.*
Nuttall Sparrow. *Zonotrichia leucophrys nuttalli.*

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Rufous-crowned Sparrow. *Aimophila ruficeps.*
Santa Cruz Song Sparrow. *Melospiza melodia santaecrucis.*
Spurred Towhee. *Pipilo maculatus falcifer.*
California Towhee. *Pipilo crissalis.*
California Shrike. *Lanius ludovicianus gambeli.*
Hutton Vireo. *Vireo huttoni.*
California Thrasher. *Toxostoma redivivum.*
Vigors Wren. *Thryomanes bewicki spilurus.*
Plain Titmouse. *Baeolophus inornatus.*
Bush-tit. *Psaltriparus minimus.*
Intermediate Wren-tit. *Chamaea fasciata intermedia.*

WINTER VISITANTS.

Sharp-shinned Hawk. *Accipiter velox.*
Say Phoebe. *Sayornis sayus.*
Crossbill. *Loxia curvirostra minor.*
Western Savannah Sparrow. *Passerculus sandwichensis alaudinus.*
Intermediate Sparrow. *Zonotrichia leucophrys gambeli.*
Golden-crowned Sparrow. *Zonotrichia coronata.*
Sierra Junco. *Junco oreganus thurberi.*
Yakutat Fox Sparrow. *Passerella iliaca meruloides.*
Cedar Waxwing. *Bombycilla cedrorum.*
Audubon Warbler. *Dendroica auduboni.*
Townsend Warbler. *Dendroica townsendi.*
Pipit. *Anthus rubescens.*
Western Winter Wren. *Nannus hiemalis pacificus.*
Red-breasted Nuthatch. *Sitta canadensis.*
Western Golden-crowned Kinglet. *Regulus satrapa olivaceus.*
Ruby-crowned Kinglet. *Regulus calendula.*
Sitka Kinglet. *Regulus calendula grinnelli.*
Townsend Solitaire. *Myadestes townsendi.*
Dwarf Hermit Thrush. *Hylocichla guttata nana.*
Varied Thrush. *Ixoreus naevius.*
Western Robin. *Planesticus migratorius propinquus.*

SUMMER VISITANTS.

Turkey Vulture. *Cathartes aura septentrionalis.*
Allen Hummingbird. *Selasphorus alleni.*
Olive-sided Flycatcher. *Nuttallornis borealis.*
Western Wood Pewee. *Myiochanes richardsoni.*
Western Flycatcher. *Empidonax difficilis.*
Bullock Oriole. *Icterus bullocki.*

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Willow Goldfinch. *Astragalinus tristis salicamans.*
Lawrence Goldfinch. *Astragalinus lawrencei.*
Western Lark Sparrow. *Chondestes grammacus strigatus.*
Western Chipping Sparrow. *Spizella passerina arizonae.*
Black-headed Grosbeak. *Zamelodia melanocephala.*
Lazuli Bunting. *Passerina amoena.*
Cliff Swallow. *Petrochelidon lunifrons.*
Western Warbling Vireo. *Vireosylva gilva swainsoni.*
Cassin Vireo. *Lanivireo solitarius cassini.*
Lutescent Warbler. *Vermivora celata lutescens.*
California Yellow Warbler. *Dendroica aestiva brewsteri.*
MacGillivray Warbler. *Oporornis tolmiei.*
Golden Pileolated Warbler. *Wilsonia pusilla chryseola.*
Western House Wren. *Troglodytes aedon parkmani.*
Russet-backed Thrush. *Hylocichla ustulata.*

TRANSIENTS.

Black-crowned Night Heron. *Nycticorax nycticorax naevius.*
Killdeer. *Oxyechus vociferus.*
Long-tailed Chat. *Icteria virens longicauda.*

SUMMARY.—Permanent residents, 31; winter visitants, 21; summer visitants, 21; transients, 3; total, 76 species.

Museum of Vertebrate Zoology,
January 28, 1911.

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UNIVERSITY RECORD.

ALBERT H. ALLEN.

REGENTS AND FACULTY.

NEW APPOINTMENTS.

At the Regents' meetings of November and December, 1910, and January, 1911, the following appointments were made:

Robert Almer Harper, Professor of Botany in the University of Wisconsin, to be Professor of Botany for the second half-year, during the absence on leave of Professor Setchell for that time.

Dr. A. W. Lee, Instructor in Pathology, as Instructor in Bacteriology and Pathology in the College of Dentistry.

Miss Lucy Stebbins, as Assistant Dean of Women from November 1, 1910.

Mr. Bruce Lawrence Clark as Instructor in Palaeontology, from January 1, 1911, succeeding Mr. Loye H. Miller, whose appointment terminated December 31 with the expiration of his leave of absence from the State Normal School in Los Angeles.

Mr. Paul Boehncke, as Assistant in German, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Dr. Fritz Winther, as Instructor in German.

Miss Anna Hamilton, as Assistant in Entomology.

Miss Alice I. Lyser, as Assistant in the Periodical Department of the Library.

Dr. Carl C. Crane, as Assistant in Orthopedics in the Medical Department.

Mr. Robert Lloyd, Laboratory Helper in Physics.

FELLOWSHIPS.

Mr. Gilbert M. Thomas, E.E., University of Texas, 1910, has been appointed to the Mackay fellowship for 1910-11, on recommendation of the Graduate Council dated September 23, 1910. This

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fellowship yields $600, and appointment takes effect as from July 1, 1910.

Mr. Lawrence Baker has been appointed University Fellow in Palaeontology for 1910-11, on recommendation of the Graduate Council dated October 21. This appointment also takes effect as from July 1, 1910, and the fellowship yields $400.

Miss Anna Estelle Glancy, A.B., Wellesley College, 1905, has been appointed University Fellow in Astronomy, as from July 1, 1910, on recommendation of the Graduate Council dated September 23.

Leaves of Absence.

Professor W. A. Setchell of the Department of Botany will be absent on leave during the second half-year. His place will be filled by Professor R. A. Harper, of the University of Wisconsin.

Mr. Thomas H. Reed, Assistant Professor of Political Science, has been appointed Executive Secretary by Governor Johnson, and will be on leave of absence while in Sacramento until June 30, 1911.

Mr. Gustave Faucheux, Assistant Professor of French Literature, has been given leave of absence for the second half-year.

Astronomer R. G. Aitken of the Lick Observatory will be on leave of absence from January 7 to March 7, to visit the principal observatories in the United States, and to recuperate his health.

Resignations.

Mr. Herbert A. Hopper, Assistant Professor of Dairy Husbandry, who has been in charge of the University Farm Creamery, and Mr. Roscoe Farrar, Instructor in Soils and Farm Crops at the University Farm School of Agriculture, have resigned, their resignations taking effect January 1.

Mr. Charles P. Olivier, Carnegie Assistant at the Lick Observatory, resigned December 31.

Miss Sarah S. Oddie, Assistant Reference Librarian, resigned November 30, 1910, and Miss Elizabeth M. Haskell, Clerk to the Librarian, has presented her resignation, to take effect April 1, 1911.

University Representation.

President Wheeler went to Washington early in December as a member of a committee of California men to represent before Congress the claims of San Francisco upon the proposed Panama-Pacific International Exposition.

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Professor D. P. Barrows, Dean of the Graduate School, represented the University of California at the meeting of the Association of American Universities at Charlottesville, Virginia, in November, and visited a number of eastern universities for personal investigation of other graduate schools, in connection with a report upon graduate schools which he has in preparation.

Professors Stephens, Smith, and Scholz, of the Department of History, attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Society in Indianapolis during the Christmas holidays.

Professor Wickson, Dean of the College of Agriculture, attended a meeting of the directors of agricultural colleges and experiment stations in Washington, November 16-18. He was accompanied by Professors M. E. Jaffa, W. T. Clarke, and R. H. Loughridge.

Professor Charles Gilman Hyde represented the city of Berkeley at the San Diego meeting in November of the League of California Municipalities.

NOTES.

Professor Bernard Moses has been elected President of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. The annual meeting of the Branch was held in California Hall in November.

Professor W. A. Setchell left Berkeley December 17 to be gone about six months. Part of the time will be spent in research at Harvard University, followed by a month or so in England.

Professor Thomas H. Reed, Assistant Professor of Political Science, has been appointed Executive Secretary to Governor Johnson, and has been given leave of absence until July, 1911, to take up the duties of this office during the first six months of the new Governor's term.

DECEMBER DEGREES.

Degrees were awarded at the December meeting of the Regents as follows:

B.S. Chemistry	1	A.B. Letters	5
B.S. Mining	5	M.S. Agriculture	1
B.S. Mechanics	6	M.S. Natural Science	3
B.S. Agriculture	6	M.L. Social Science	4
B.S. Commerce	1	M.A. Letters	1
B.S. Natural Science	9	J.D. Social Science	2
B.L. Social Science	25		
		Total	69

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FREDERICK GODFRAY HESSE, 1825-1911.

Frederick Godfray Hesse, Emeritus Professor of Hydraulics, died January 27 at his home in Oakland. His age was eighty-six. His death closes an eventful and interesting career. He was born at Treves in the Rhenish Province of Prussia in 1825. His father was a Landrath in the District of Saarbrücker, and was between 1848 and 1850 a member of Parliament. Professor Hesse received his education in Germany. He attended the Gymnasium at Saarbrücker from 1836 to 1841, the Realschule there from 1841 to 1844, and the Provincial Institute at Treves in 1845, where he qualified for admission to the Royal Polytechnic School at Berlin. He was one year a volunteer in the Prussian army and entered the reserve as lieutenant. The revolution of 1848 compelled him to give up his contemplated studies at Berlin, and in the spring of 1849 he took passage on a merchantman, the "Magnolia," to the United States. In this country he had long service as an engineer. He was assistant in an architect's office in Providence in 1850, and later on had charge of engineering classes in Brown University. He was a topographical engineer in Pennsylvania, a constructing engineer on the Philadelphia and West Chester Railroad, a consulting engineer in Washington, D. C., and in 1857 edited the Patent Office Report. Later on he was a member of the United States Naval Astronomical Expedition to the Southern Hemisphere. When the Civil War broke out he became a volunteer in the Frontier Guard under Captain James Lane in defense of the National Capital. Later on he was appointed Professor of Mathematics in the United States Navy, with duties at the National Observatory in Washington. In 1864 he was a member of the expedition from St. Paul, Minnesota, to Walla Walla, Washington, in connection with the making of observations for the forty-sixth parallel boundary between Washington and Oregon. In the later 60's he came to San Francisco, was a consulting engineer there, and connected with the development of many patents. He joined the faculty of the University of California in 1875 as Professor of Industrial Mechanics; his title was changed to Professor of Mechanical Engineering in 1891, and to Professor of Hydraulics in 1901. In 1904 he was made Professor Emeritus, but occasionally gave an advanced course at the University until 1910. His death brings general sorrow to the University community. Three daughters survive him.

THE TAX AMENDMENT.

The adoption of an amendment to the state constitution changing the method of raising the state revenues by taxation has had the effect of nullifying the "three-cent tax" law under which the

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University has derived the portion of its income contributed by the state. The legislature now in session will have submitted for its consideration proposals for a law providing for the continuation of the University's income automatically under the new system of taxation.

GIFTS TO THE UNIVERSITY.

At the January meeting the Regents accepted a gift from the class of '95 of $431.00, to be administered for the present as a loan fund. Disbursements are to be made by a committee consisting of the President of the University, the Advisor, and a representative of the class of '95. The class reserves the right to add to the fund and to designate for it other uses than those mentioned, not prejudicial to the ultimate purpose of the fund, which is to provide an endowment for a scholarship.

Shreve and Company, of San Francisco, have presented to the University a specimen of benitoite, the California gem mineral discovered in 1907. The specimen shows several forms of the crystals in matrix and is the one used in preparing the colored plate in the bulletin on benitoite issued by the University in December, 1909. (*Bulletin of the Department of Geology*, vol. 5, no. 23, plate 33).

Mr. Ogden Mills has offered to provide for the continuance of the Mills Expedition to the Southern Hemisphere, started by his father, the late D. O. Mills, and promises $7,500 per annum for the period July 1, 1911, to July 1, 1912, or $15,000 in all for the cost involved. Heretofore the gifts have been $6,000 per annum, and the increase is to allow for higher salaries and expense of maintenance.

An anonymous friend of the University has offered a gift of $200 per month for five years beginning January 1, 1911, to be expended in palaeontological research under the direction of Professor John C. Merriam, with the understanding that the sum annually appropriated by the University for research in palaeontology shall not be diminished by reason of this gift.

The University has received, from Director W. W. Campbell of the Lick Observatory, twenty $1000 6 per cent. bonds of the Tonopah United Water Company, which are to constitute an endowment for the Martin Kellogg Fellowship in the Lick Observatory. These bonds came to Director Campbell after the death of Mrs. Martin Kellogg, widow of the late President Martin Kellogg.

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The President has received from the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Berkeley an offer to provide this year, as in the past two years, a prize of fifty dollars to be awarded to the student of the University writing the best essay on the subject, "The Relation of Individual Total Abstinence to the Prosperity of the Nation."

Mr. F. M. Smith, of Oakland, has presented to the University two human skeletons recently obtained in excavations on Long Island, which have been turned over to the Department of Anthropology, and ten books on the ethnology of the Long Island region, which have been placed in the University Library.

A recent graduate of the University has sent as a gift to the Department of Latin for the purchase of books a check for fifty dollars, the amount of a prize received by him at an eastern university where he is continuing his studies.

The Knights of St. Patrick have given to the University the sum of $100 for the purchase of Irish books for the University Library. It is intended that the gift is to be continued annually.

Mr. M. H. Durst, '83, of Alameda, has given to the University $100 to be used for the purchase of apparatus in the Students' Infirmary.

A Collection of Rare Birds.

Through special provision of funds for this purpose by Miss Annie M. Alexander, there has just been acquired by the California Museum of Vertebrate Zoology a small but highly interesting series of birds obtained the past season in the vicinity of Bering Sea. These include one of the world's rarest species, the spoon-billed sandpiper.

This bird takes its name from the peculiar structure of the bill, both mandibles near their tips having broad, skimmer-like expansions which together are used by the bird in gathering mosquito larvae from the shallow ponds.

The species makes its summer home in the high interior tundra in extreme northeastern Siberia. In winter it has been found sparingly on the shores of western Asia. The downy young birds have remained until now unknown. In fact, very few specimens of the spoon-billed sandpiper of any age are contained in museums. Most of the known specimens are in the British Museum at South Kensington, London, England.

The collection was obtained by Mr. F. Kleinschmidt, an explorer, who risked the loss of his boat among the ice floes of the Arctic to reach the remote region visited.

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THE WHEELER GESELLSCHAFT.

As a consequence of the interest in the educational systems of the United States aroused at the University of Berlin by President Wheeler's seminar as Roosevelt Professor there last winter, a society has been organized at that university to promote the study of both German and foreign systems of education, and in honor of the originator of the idea it has been named the "Wheeler-Gesellschaft." The University of California was represented at the first meeting of the society, in October, by Professor E. P. Lewis.

GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS.

AGRICULTURE HALL.

Contracts for work on the new building for the College of Agriculture have been let as follows:

Excavation and concrete, Clinton Fireproofing Co	$36,970
Structural steel, Ralston Iron Works	21,923
Steel erection, C. A. Blume Construction Co	2,950

The steel is now coming from the mills, and is in process of erection.

THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE.

The Regents' Committee on Grounds and Buildings were authorized at the November meeting to have built, as a charge against the Permanent Building Fund, a road from the corner of Arch Street and Hearst Avenue to the President's House, to make walks and steps, fences for the garden and other improvements of the grounds around the house, at an estimated cost of $10,000. At the January meeting a contract was let to Pringle and Dunn for the road, brick walks, stone posts, etc., to cost $8,450. The contract for the final interior painting and decorating was awarded in November to the J. Llewellyn Co., which is doing the interior decorating of the new University Library building. The sum of $12,000 was also appropriated at the January meeting for furnishings.

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The Permanent Building Fund.

For the year ending June 30, 1910, the following charges have been made against the Permanent Building Fund, which is one-fourth of the income received by the University from the three-cent tax:

Affiliated Colleges Steps	$ 1,002.95	
Ashburner Tablet on Bacon Library Building	93.00	
Grading baseball field	868.40	
California Hall equipment	2,517.98	
Concrete bridge at Sather Gate	6,634.10	
Dairy road	895.50	
Lick Observatory vault	7,373.69	
Road, California Hall to Sather Gate	5,834.00	
Power House, boiler, etc	5,791.83	
President's House	5,089.27	
Rifle range	501.90	
Strawberry Cañon weir	504.30	
Transformers	139.61	
Tunnels	8,017.75	
Extensions of water system	1,485.58	
Linotype machine for Printing Office	4,765.50	$ 51,515.36
Bancroft Library, fifth installment		$ 25,000.00
Doe Library completion and equipment, first instalment		10,000.00
Strawberry Cañon lands, first instalment		20,000.00
Interest on Endowment Fund moneys used for purchase of Strawberry Cañon lands		5,324.62
		$111,839.98
First instalments of Provision Accounts:		
Agriculture Hall	$20,000.00	
Chemistry Hall	20,000.00	
Doe Library, furniture and equipment	20,000.00	$ 60,000.00
		$171,839.98
Overdraft, June 30, 1909		30,439.45
		$202,279.43
One fourth of three-cent tax, 1909-10		182,746.97
Overdraft on Permanent Building Fund, June 30, 1910		$ 19,532.46

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While the furniture ordered for Boalt Hall will not be delivered until later in the spring, the Department of Jurisprudence has taken possession, and the law classes will meet in the new building hereafter, with temporary equipment of such tables and chairs as are needed.

The Regents in November authorized the Grounds and Buildings Committee to open an entrance to the grounds at La Loma avenue, east of Founders' Rock. The work will be of the simplest sort that will suffice to make this entrance available.

Alterations to cost $2,665 are to be made in the Pathology and Hygiene Building, to accommodate the reorganized instruction in Pathology, and in East Hall, amounting to $700, to improve the laboratories there of the Department of Physics.

Contracts have been made with the Art Metal Construction Co. for certain steel furnishings in the University Library, to cost $54,832, and for a three-story steel bookstack in Boalt Hall, for $9,600.

The University has recently bought with money appropriated from the General Fund two houses on Sylvan Way, adjoining Hearst Hall.

DANIEL COIT GILMAN.

The University Press has received from the publishers, Dodd, Mead and Company, *The Life of Daniel Coit Gilman*, by Dr. Fabian Franklin, editor of the *Baltimore News*. Dr. Franklin, from 1877 to 1895, was connected with Johns Hopkins University, where Daniel C. Gilman was president from 1875 to 1901, and writes five of the eight chapters of this biography, those dealing with President Gilman's activities at Johns Hopkins, his presidency of the Carnegie Institution, and his home life and personal traits.

The first chapter, relating to President Gilman's boyhood and youth, is written by his brother, Mr. William C. Gilman, of Norwich, Connecticut; the account of his connection with Yale College as librarian and professor, is the work of Miss Emily H. Whitney and Miss Margaret D. Whitney, daughters of the late Professor W. D. Whitney of Yale; the third chapter, the story of his presidency of the University of California, from 1872 to 1875, is contributed by Professor William Carey Jones, of this University.

The chapter dealing with President Gilman's work in California is, of course, of great interest to Californians and clearly shows the immense importance to the new institution of its "logical first president" during its perilous early years.

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THE SILVA OF CALIFORNIA

The University Press published on December 29, in the University's memoir series a monograph by Professor W. L. Jepson entitled *The Silva of California.* This is a book of 480 pages, of which 280 are text descriptive of California trees, 170 are the 85 plates and their explanations, and 50 are the two indexes accompanying the book. One index is of subject matter and the other is a geographical index, with reference to a map of California prepared especially for the volume.

The book describes each of the ninety-two species of trees that are native in California. Of these ninety-two, forty-nine are typically Californian in the sense that they are the most characteristic species of the forests of the state, and eighteen are strictly peculiar to California.

The volume is a large quarto, well printed in large type on excellent paper and will be a valuable book of reference. It is for sale for the University by Paul Elder and Company, San Francisco, and by the University Press in Berkeley.

THE OLDEST ALUMNUS GONE.

Rev. Albert Franklin Lyle, of Newark, N. J., died November 8, 1910. Mr. Lyle was a member of the first class graduated from the College of California, the class of 1864, and when the College was merged into the University he and his three classmates were the first to be enrolled among the alumni of the University.

Dr. Lyle, with other graduates of the College of California, received the degree of Doctor of Laws last May, in connection with the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the College.

THE UNIVERSITY FARM.

The third annual series of Short Courses in Agriculture at the University Farm closed on November 23, 1910, with an attendance representative of all sections of the State. In age, the students ranged from nineteen to seventy years and the large majority were between twenty-five and forty. This maturity of years indicates that the courses offered deal with the practical as well as scientific phases of agriculture in such a manner as to appeal to those who are either engaged in, or about to enter upon agricultural pursuits. Of the total registrations, nine were women, the majority of whom pursued the course in poultry husbandry. Residents of Davis opened their homes generously so that all found rooms and a large

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number chose to take their meals at the University Farm Dining Hall. The registrations in the several courses are as follows:

General Agriculture, two weeks	21
Poultry Husbandry, two and seven weeks	31
Animal Industry and Veterinary Science, three weeks	28
Dairy Manufacture, seven weeks	29
Market Milk and Cream Supply, two weeks	7
Horticulture and Viticulture, two weeks	36
Total	152
Deduct for registrations in more than one course	33
Total individuals in attendance	119

In addition to the above regular Short Courses a special series of demonstrations and lectures known as "Farmers' Week" was held for six days beginning October 10th. The registration outside of residents of Davis was 100. An important feature of the week was the work in Household Economics with a registration of 63. Thus, all told, the number of persons receiving instruction and inspiration at the University Farm during the period just closed is 282. Similar short courses will be given in the fall of 1911.

The University Farm School completes its second year in January, 1911. The enrollment during the Fall of 1910 has been 77. The Farm School has a regular course of three years to which boys are admitted who are at least fifteen years of age and have completed the eighth grade of the grammar schools. In addition, young men who possess similar educational qualifications and are eighteen years or more of age are admitted for one term or longer to pursue any studies in the curriculum for which they are prepared. The present school year extends from September 12, 1910, to May 10, 1911. The annual cost to the student for board, room, fees, and books amounts to about $230. The subjects of the course are as follows:

First Year.	*Second Year.*	*Third Year.*
Farm crops	Horticulture	Soils and soil fertility
Stock judging	Entomology	Irrigation and surveying
Botany	Poultry	Physics
Physiology and Hygiene	Animal Industry	English and history
English	Dairy Industry	Farm mechanics
Mathematics	Chemistry	Elective Subjects:
Shop work	English and History	Animal Industry
	Algebra	Dairy Industry
	Farm accounts	Horticulture
		Viticulture
		Poultry Husbandry

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The equipment of the Farm is steadily growing. It is now a little more than four years since the 780 acres were purchased, and a great transformation has taken place upon the bare grain fields of the original area. The first buildings were erected in 1907 and the first meeting, a Farmers' Institute, was held in October of the same year. The buildings, large and small, for farming and educational purposes, now number fifteen and among them are dormitory, dining hall, creamery, pavilion, horticultural hall, wood-working and blacksmith shop, veterinary clinic, livestock building, poultry houses, dairy, horse, and sheep barns, cereal laboratory, grafting house, water tower and pump house, and a complete water distribution and sanitary system, including a large double septic tank, the sanitary system having been designed and executed by Charles Gilman Hyde, Professor of Sanitary Engineering.

Experimentation looking to the improvement of California agriculture occupies a large place and is being conducted in irrigation to determine the duty of water for alfalfa and other crops; in grain-growing to increase the yield and quality of wheat, barley and oats, and to determine practicable methods of improving and conserving soil fertility; in fruit-growing to study varieties and methods of culture and control of various diseases; in forage crops to study new and promising varieties of alfalfa, corn, sorghum and legumes for green manuring; in livestock to gain further knowledge of how to combat tuberculosis and other diseases; in poultry to determine the best types of poultry houses for California and study methods of feeding and breeding for best laying strains; in dairying to improve quality of butter and secure larger returns to the dairyman.

MUSIC AND DRAMATICS.

Half-Hour of Music.

October 30—The Oakland Orpheus: Mr. Edwin Dunbar Crandall, director; Mrs. Robert M. Hughes, accompanist.

November 6—Mr. Bentley Nicholson, tenor, with Mr. Ashley Pettis, accompanist.

November 13—The Girls' Glee Club of the Lowell High School, Mr. H. B. Pasmore, director; Miss Martha Gans, and Miss Mary Pasmore, accompanists.

November 20—Miss Lulu E. Pieper, soprano; Mr. Chester Herold, tenor; Mr. Earl Towner and Mr. H. B. Pasmore, accompanists.

November 27—Mr. F. A. Ballaseyus, pianist.

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December 4—Miss Muriel Andrews, violinist, with Miss Lola G. Gwin, accompanist.

December 11—The Treble Clef Club of the University of California, Mr. Paul Steindorff, director.

December 18—The Naval Militia Band, Captain George V. Hollister, leader.

The Half-hour of Music was discontinued after this date until the first Sunday in March.

University Orchestral Society.

The third concert by the University of California Orchestral Society was given under the direction of Mr. Paul Steindorff on the evening of December 7, 1910, in Hearst Hall. The Franklin Carter String Quartette, Miss Caroline Little, soprano, and Mr. Hother Wismer, violinist, assisted. The following was the program:

1. Overture, Martha ..... *Flotow*
   University Orchesta.
2. Piano Quintette op. 44—In modo d'una marcia ..... *Schumann*
   Messrs. Franklin Carter, Wm. McKinney, Geo. Chatterley, James de Fremery, Jr., R. F. Scholz.
3. (*a*) Who is Sylvia ..... *Schubert*
   (*b*) Fishermaiden ..... *Schubert*
   (*c*) Du Ring an meinem Finger ..... *Schumann*
   (*d*) Frühlingsnacht ..... *Schumann*
   Miss Caroline Little.
4. Symphony No. 5 in B flat major ..... *Schubert*
   University Orchestra.
5. Swedish Dances ..... *Max Bruch*
   Mr. Hother Wismer.
6. (*a*) It was a Lover and His Lass (Old English) ..... *Thos. Morley*
   (*b*) I've Been Roaming (Old English) ..... *Horne*
   (*c*) Jack'o Hazeldeen (Old Scotch) .....
   Miss Caroline Little.
7. Wein, Weib und Gesang ..... *J. Strauss*
   University Orchestra.

Glee Club Concert.

The third annual concert by the Glee Club given on the campus was held in Harmon Gymnasium on the evening of December 3, under the direction of C. R. Morse, '96.

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MEETINGS AND LECTURES.

University Meetings.

October 28—The University Orchestra, The Treble Clef Society, Miss E. F. Black (piano solo), The Women's Mandolin Club, The University Glee Club, and The University Band.

November 11—Judge Fletcher A. Cutler, Attorney to the Regents of the University; Mr. Fred Goodrich Athearn, '00, Superintendent of Railway Clubs, Southern Pacific Company; The University Band.

December 2—Rev. Peter C. Yorke, S.T.D., of St. Anthony's Church, Oakland, Regent of the University; music by a double quartette of students; Mr. Douglas Soule, '11, piano solo; the Men's Mandolin Club.

Lectures on Latin-American Life.

Professor Bernard Moses, upon his return from the International Conference of American States at Buenos Aires, in July and August, 1910, and the Centennial celebration of Chile, delivered the following lectures on Latin-American life:

November 2—The Social Classes in Latin-American Society.

November 9—The Differences of National Character among the Latin-Americans.

November 16—The Problem of Government in Latin-America.

November 23—Latin-American Politics.

November 30—The International Union of American States.

December 7—Some Phases of the Intellectual Life of Latin-America.

The Schools of California.

The concluding lectures in this series given by the Department of Education are as follows:

November 3—Mr. H. O. Williams, Student Activities in the High School.

November 10—Miss Thirmuthis Brookman, High School Mathematics for the Average Student.

November 17—Mr. T. J. Penfield, Personality in the High School Teacher.

December 1—Mr. Frederick Liddeke, An Eight-year High School Course.

December 8—Professor A. F. Lange, The Teacher as "Leading Citizen."

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Harvey Club Lecture.

Professor Harry Beal Torrey addressed the Harvey Club on the evening of December 1, his subject being "Darwin."

Sigma Xi Lecture.

The Beginning of Intelligence was the subject chosen by Professor S. J. Holmes, '93, Assistant Professor of Zoology in the University of Wisconsin, for his address before the Sigma Xi on December 7.

The League of the Republic.

During October, the meetings of the League of the Republic were devoted to the discussion of candidates for office and proposed amendments to the constitution of the state to be voted on at the November election. In November and December the League discussed the remodeling of the direct primary law and the "short ballot."

The Philological Association.

The twelfth annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast was held at the San Francisco Institute of Art in San Francisco, November 25 and 26.

The Historical Association.

The Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association held its annual meeting in the Faculty Room, California Hall, November 18 and 19.

California State Teachers' Association.

The annual meeting of the Bay Counties branch of the State Teachers' Association was held in Berkeley in December, with headquarters in California Hall. The regular teachers' institutes of several counties of the bay region were held here at the same time, and the meetings of the various sections of the association and of the institutes were mostly held in the University buildings.

Physics Department Meetings.

November 18—Mr. R. B. Abbott, Insulating High Voltage Transmission Lines.

December 9—Dr. T. S. Elston, The Sphere of Molecular Influence.

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Other Lectures.

An interesting lecture on the new education in China, under the title, "The University of Tientsin," was given by Mr. Myron Peck, '96, October 21, 1910.

Dr. Elwood Mead of the Agricultural Department delivered a lecture, October 27, on "The Irrigation Movement in Victoria, Australia."

A discussion on "The History of the Growth of Fire Insurance" was given before the Economics Club by Mr. D. A. Spencer, manager of the Real Estate Brokers' Exchange of San Francisco, on the evening of October 25.

International Club Meetings.

November 1—Speakers, Professor Bernard Moses and Professor D. P. Barrows.

December 3—Chinese night.

UNDERGRADUATE AFFAIRS.

The Bonnheim Contest.

The winners of the Bonnheim Essay Prizes for students of the Upper Division in December were Charles Kasch and Angus Combs Madden of the senior class, and Herbert Charles Kelly and Tracy Barrett Kittredge of the junior class. These prizes are $15 each. Mr. Madden was the successful contestant for the discussion prize of $100 at the public discussion held in Hearst Hall on December 10. The subject for the Upper Division contest was, Ought public institutions to accept money known to have been dishonestly gained?

The Carnot Debate.

The general topic for this year's Carnot Debate, to be held at Stanford University the first Tuesday in February, will be the relation of the government of France to the problem of labor. Professors M. C. Flaherty and D. E. Smith and Mr. C. D. von Neumayer constitute the committee in charge for the University of California.

Honor Society Elections.

Golden Bear.

The Order of the Golden Bear initiated in December three honorary members, W. C. Crittenden, '05, the first Rhodes Scholar from

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California, James G. Schaeffer, for two years graduate coach of the football team, and W. C. Jones, '75, Professor of Jurisprudence; also seven active members from the senior class, D. T. Babcock, D. P. Hardy, G. A. Kretsinger, W. C. Little, L. R. McFie, A. C. Prendergast, and B. A. Swartz.

Alpha Zeta.

The agricultural honor society elected to membership in November Professors C. M. Haring and W. B. Herms of the faculty and C. H. Bradley, '11, A. J. Rathbone, '12, and H. N. Wolff, '12.

Sword and Scales.

The honor society of the law department elected in October Mr. Farnham P. Griffiths, '06, Lecturer in Law, to honorary membership, and to active membership: W. J. Hayes and G. B. Swift of the class of 1909; Harold Brayton, G. A. Haines, Noble Hamilton, A. M. Johnson, and G. A. Work of the senior class; and H. C. Kelly of the junior class.

The Prytanean.

The women's honor society elected fifteen members in November, nine seniors and six juniors. The seniors are Katherine Asher, Ethel Burke, Ruth Fuller, Anne Hunt, Hazel Jordan, Georgie McCoy, Jennett Miller, Gladys Moore, and Cora Wieder; the juniors, Florence Doyle, Dorothy Fish, Emilie Harrold, Mildred Jordan, Ellen Ord, and Edith Pence.

Peace Prize Contest.

The annual prize of $50 offered by the Northern California Peace Society was won by John J. Miller of the sophomore class at a discussion of the arbitration question held on November 18.

New Fraternity Chapter.

The Palomar Club of the University was given a charter in October from Sigma Phi Epsilon, a fraternity founded at Richmond, Virginia, in 1901. California has the twenty-sixth chapter on its roll.

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA CHRONICLE

VOL. XIII APRIL, 1911 NO. 2

CHARTER DAY ADDRESS.*

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. President, and you members of the faculty and of the student body, and you men and women of California, kinsfolk and friends of the students:

I have long looked forward to this day. It is eight years since I spoke where I am now speaking and it left an indelible impression upon my mind. I assure you I come here much more to learn than to teach. Any good I could have done you eight years ago was but little in comparison with the good that you did me by the chance that was offered me to get into touch with the spirit of this University, with the flower of the spirit of California and the Coast. Before I left the Presidency, President Wheeler had arranged with me tentatively that I should come out and again address you. It shows how the world has now become knit together, how small the globe has grown, that I definitely accepted your president's invitation when he, the President of the University of California—on the Pacific Slope, facing the Pacific Ocean—was lecturing at the University of Berlin, in Europe, the university now but a century old, the university formed to express the fact that Germany was regenerated, that Germany had seen a new birth and had entered on a repetition of the great career of Germany's past; and the President of the University of California, writing from the University of Berlin, where he was lecturing, sent his letter of invitation to me, which I received by

*From a stenographic report of the address delivered in the Greek Theatre, March 23, 1911.

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Lake Victoria Nyanza, under the equator, in the heart of Africa.

By the way, I wish to state that some time—I hope next year—my name will appear in the list of donors whom you heard the president read off, because in the letter in response to which I finally definitely settled my coming out here, your president accepted for the University my offer to give the University a spare elephant. I wrote him that I had an extra bull elephant, and that although I knew that the gift of a white elephant was proverbially embarrassing, yet this elephant was black. I added that I knew that an elephant is the kind of thing that either you want a great deal or you emphatically don't want at all, and that if the University of California was already well supplied with elephants I did not wish to intrude another; but that if they cared to have one, it might possibly be of interest to the University to have an African elephant that had been shot by an ex-President. Your president accepted it and it is now at the Smithsonian in Washington—the skeleton, skull, skin, and the rest of it—being examined with the leisurely minuteness that appeals to the scientific mind. But I think it is now ready whenever the president chooses to send for it. And you probably know that, entirely aside from the shooting, which is always the simple part—not always the easiest—but the simple part, the collecting and carrying out of an elephant's skin and skeleton means considerable labor. When I went to Africa I wanted to have one noteworthy trophy of the hunt to send over to the west coast and leave here as a reminder of the fact that the expedition had taken place.

During the last year it has been my fortune to speak at many different universities. I spoke at the University of Cairo, a university founded by wise and patriotic native Egyptians; intended primarily for Moslems, but also for Christians; intended to train the new Egypt so that it shall be not superficially but fundamentally able to take its part in the onward march of civilization; a university which if

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it develops aright, and if the Moslem world is willing to accept it, can exercise an extraordinary regenerative influence on that world—a world that stands sadly in need of it—because Egypt occupies the keystone position in the Moslem arch which stretches across Asia and Africa.

I afterwards spoke in several of the most ancient universities of Europe, in universities whose history stretches back until literally lost in the dimness of the Middle Ages. I spoke in France, in England, and in Germany; and now I come across the continent to speak here in this young University, this university yet in its youth and yet filled with the abounding vigor of early maturity; a university which represents the conquest of the last part of the world that was left vacant before the oncoming civilization of our people. There are no such new countries left now. During the last four centuries of the spread of the white race every country in turn has been occupied in whole or in part by that race, save the two or three where there was an old civilization possessed by a people of full vigor. There are no new conquests to be made by civilization extensively. The new conquest must be intensive.

In Africa itself the pioneers—the explorers—have gone through the first stage of their work; what remains to be done there is to build deep and high where the foundations have already been laid. Africa was originally held by a race which has not vanished before the intruders, and which will remain the foundation of the population. Temperate America and Australia, on the contrary, were held by races which either have vanished entirely or have subsisted in such small numbers as to become completely absorbed by the intrusive people.

Here on the Pacific Coast we see the last large stretch of vacant territory that was thus open to the spread of civilization. There are no new territories into which to go and lay the foundations of new communities. The vacant spaces have been filled at least in outline, and the foundations have been laid; the task before us in the twentieth

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century and in the ensuing centuries is to build aright on those foundations. When once we had on the Pacific Coast of America great universities, looking across the last of the great oceans, looking across to the ancient civilization of Asia,—when this had been accomplished, it was evident that the work of the mere spreading of civilization was through, and that what remained to do was to build deep and high a finer civilization than anything the world had yet seen.

I do not believe that any man can adequately appreciate the world of to-day unless he has some knowledge of—a little more than a slight knowledge—some feeling for and of—the history of the world of the past. The people of California cannot understand aright the part they are playing unless they understand it when taken in connection with the great march of civilization, with the development of humanity.

You students, when you read Homer, I wonder whether you visualize to yourself how small the world of Homer was. It was not a Mediterranean world. It was the world of the Aegean Sea. It was the world around one corner of the Mediterranean. Already when Homer wrote—and when I speak of Homer, Mr. President, I use his name as a noun of multitude (and this offers a subject for infinite debate!) —when Homer wrote there were already in the valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile civilizations whose beginnings were separated from the civilization of Troy, from the civilization of the chieftains who conquered Troy, by a longer term of years than the term of years that divides us from Homeric civilization. Already there was a longer background of civilization in Africa and Eastern Asia than the length of the background of Graeco-Roman civilization, from which ours is derived. That civilization had been in existence for thousands of years, and yet the civilized world touched only on the Aegean—disregarding the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. The Odyssey is a sublime fairy story of the adventures of a hero in what were to the Greek absolutely unknown waters. When the Greek went west of the

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Aegean in the Mediterranean, he came to an unknown region, where his knowledge, so far as it was exact at all, was based upon the log books and the sailing directions of adventurers—Phoenician sailing traders—and where the poet could give full license to his imagination and put in monsters of every kind for the same reason that it was safe for the mapmakers of the Columbian period to put any strange creatures they wished in the middle of Asia, South America, or Africa. This Aegean civilization gradually spread. What until recently was conveniently called the classical world, the world of the Greek and the Roman of classic times, was the world of the Mediterranean. The whole Mediterranean thus became known; became the central sea of the civilization of that day.

At that time the Atlantic was known only to an occasional hardy navigator and to the merchants who followed in the footsteps of those navigators—the navigators of Carthage and Marseilles. The movement went on. The Atlantic became accepted as the ocean. And, finally, in what are historically recent times, the Atlantic was traversed, and for a few centuries we saw the beginnings of a considerable civilization on the American coast of the Atlantic. The Pacific was penetrated; first the Spaniards and then our own forefathers crossed the continent; and now we see the coasts of the Pacific populated by great civilized peoples; we see our own commonwealth on the coast of the North Pacific; we see the Spanish-American commonwealths to the south; we see the great Australian commonwealth in the South seas; and we see the regeneration, accomplished or about to be accomplished, of the great Asiatic empires on the Asiatic coast of the Pacific.

About one hundred and fifty years ago when Anson made his trip around the world he had three ships. In the course of the trip he lost two of the ships. It took him three years to go around. He lost over four-fifths of his men by death,—death due to disease. Even at that date the Pacific was a hostile ocean, the traversing of which

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meant as much in the way of death and adventure as traversing the Atlantic had meant in the days when Pythias of Marseilles reached the North Sea and the Baltic. At present the Pacific is a safe yachting ground.

The movement has gone on until now the civilization of the world includes the coast regions of the Pacific; and I believe that, in the future, it is on the Pacific that the greatest crises in world-history will be faced. So that you men here, you students, young men and young women, our masters of the future, those who are about to take control of the destinies of this Nation, should have a full and intense realization of the seriousness of your work.

Together with the growth of this civilization as I have sketched it in barest outline to you has gone the growth of knowledge and the multiplication of institutions in which to acquire knowledge. The Greek world, as it spread over the Mediterranean, in a way curiously parallelled in advance the spread of the English speaking peoples in modern times. It saw the foundation of city after city which grew to as great importance as, and in some cases to greater importance than, any of the old cities of Greece proper. Alexandria and Antioch in the Hellenistic or post-Alexandrian period, Syracuse, Marseilles, Tarentum, in the true Hellenic period, were cities which, in the Greek world of their day, played at times at least as important a part as Corinth or Athens or Thebes.

I specially wish to say certain things to you here to-day —not merely to the students, but to those who are to teach the students and to those who are to support the teaching faculty, who are to support the teachers in what they thus teach the students. In a new country the men engaged in the intensely and terribly difficult work of conquering the land for civilization cannot be expected to keep up to the cultural level of the old lands. Even if they retain traces of the culture of the old lands, the first generation that comes after them has too difficult a work in taming the rugged wilderness, in clearing nature of its shagginess, in

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conquering the elemental forces arrayed against them, for us to be warranted in expecting from them achievements of the cultural kind equal to that which we expect from the home stayers of the older lands. We can pardon the pioneers, probably even the sons of the pioneers, for a failure in such type of achievement. But we cannot pardon the third generation. I am addressing a college which is now training the grandsons of the pioneers, which is now engaged in training the third generation of the people of the Pacific Slope. I am speaking as a citizen of a country which from now on can be called young only in a very technical and limited sense. I am an American of the eighth generation myself, and when people have been in the land three or six or eight generations, they must no longer try to advance the excuse of youth for failure to achieve results worth achieving. In every point in which we fall short, compared to the great civilized nations of Europe, let us abandon hereafter any attempt to excuse ourselves on the ground of youth or insufficient training, and simply say that it is our fault and that we will try to remedy it. Let us be manly in facing our shortcomings. We *must* face them. We can never overcome a shortcoming by merely looking the other way. We shall never overcome it if we try to make ourselves believe that it is not a shortcoming. Let us face the shortcoming, acknowledge its existence—not advance some insufficient and unworthy excuse, but try to remedy it.

We have a great multitude of institutions of learning in this country. From certain standpoints they have done astonishingly good work. From certain other standpoints their work as yet leaves very much to be desired. Addressing this extraordinary gathering in this great University, I wish to lay more stress upon the shortcomings in American university life than on the successes of American university life. We can speak well of ourselves on many occasions, and usually we do not hesitate to do so, especially on the Fourth of July. But I would like every man to remember

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that no other nation cares a rap about what we say of ourselves. They care for nothing except what we do. And, in so far as history recollects anything that we say in our own praise, it will be merely to laugh at us unless our deeds have made good our works. Our deeds may be remembered, but statements from us as to what we think our deeds are, will not be remembered.

Our education has been very successful along certain lines. (Now let me interrupt myself for one moment to ask your attention to this fact: I find that one of the most difficult things is to get people to accept what you say exactly as you say it, and often, in laying stress upon one side of a subject, I find it very hard to make men understand that I am not insisting that that is the only side of the subject. So please heed just what I say). In our American life we have been extraordinarily successful along certain lines. I am trying to speak historically, I am trying to speak with a complete absence of chauvinistic spirit, when I say that in the field of political achievement I think that in Washington and Lincoln we have produced the two loftiest types of statesmen that the world has ever seen. When I say this, I say something which I am prepared to defend; I say it because I believe there are not in all history to be found the names of any other two great men as good, or the names of any other two good men as great. They were as lofty men, they possessed the same commanding ability, the same power to shape destiny, as Caesar or Napoleon; and yet they used their power, not in the spirit of Caesar or Napoleon, but in the spirit of Timoleon and John Hampden. When I speak of them thus I express my honest and sincere historical belief.

In the same way I think that in what we may call applied science—commercial or industrial science applied in the field of material achievement—we have done very well indeed. I have been rather amused to find that on the whole our people, or at least those among our people who claim to be the especial repositories of culture—and I am

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speaking more of the East now than of the West—are actually more ignorant than Europe is of some of the deeds to our especial credit. For instance, in this country, the average educated person until very recently has paid astonishingly little attention to the building of the Panama Canal.

In Europe I found that the two feats performed by Americans in the last decade which had really made a deep impression were the digging of the Panama Canal and the sending of the battleship fleet around the world. The Panama Canal I naturally take special interest in, because I started it. If I had acted strictly according to precedent, I should have turned the whole matter over to Congress; in which case, Congress would be ably debating it at this moment, and the canal would be fifty years in the future. Fortunately the crisis came at a period when I could act unhampered. Accordingly I took the Isthmus, started the canal, and then left Congress—not to debate the canal, but to debate me. And in portions of the public press the debate still goes on as to whether or not I acted properly in taking the canal. But while the debate goes on the canal does too; and they are welcome to debate me as long as they wish, provided that we can go on with the canal.

Now, I believe that I am telling the exact truth, that I am speaking with scientific accuracy, when I say that the canal is the greatest feat of the kind by all odds that has ever been attempted by civilized mankind, and that our engineers and doctors under Colonel Goethals and Dr. Gorgas, have done their work there better than any corresponding men of any country have ever done any similar work before.

In the field of practical achievement, in statecraft, and in such material work as that of the Panama Canal, America has done its full part. It has done more than its full part. I am proud of this. If we could only have one species of achievement to our credit I believe it is better to have that species of achievement than the other. I have more

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sympathy for the Roman, the man of extraordinary administrative force, the man who could conquer and mold the world, the city-builder, the road-maker—I have more sympathy for him than I have for the more cultivated and less virile Greek; and I would rather see us produce statesmen of the type of Washington and Lincoln and master-builders like those who are building the Panama Canal than see us produce men of letters and men of art. But the two types of production ought not to be mutually exclusive. There is ample room for both, and no civilization is in any true sense complete that only produces one.

We ought not to be content to do only a certain kind of work, even though that is on the whole the most important work. It is vitally important to lay the foundation well; but our satisfaction in our ability to lay the foundation ought not to blind us to the fact that a foundation is not a building, that on it we must build the superstructure of a higher life, a higher life intellectually, artistically, ethically. In other words, while I admit absolutely that we need breadth as the first essential in our educational system, in our whole social system, I insist that the fact that we have that breadth ought not to exclude our having height and depth; that our national welfare should not only be on a broad basis, but it should be capable of developing all of the things that are highest also, that it should be deep as well as broad. I wish to see our educational system based first of all upon the need of raising the common level; I wish the first consideration to be that there should be a high table-land of general intelligence and of material well-being. But acknowledgment of the fact that it is most important to have this high table-land of general welfare must not interfere with recognition of the fact that we must have our mountains also—our peaks of exceptional endeavor, of exceptional achievement.

There is every reason that we as a nation should be profoundly dissatisfied with ourselves if we only raise the general level of average intelligence and fail to produce great

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master minds which shall stand on a level with the master-minds of all the ages.

I realize to the fullest degree, and not only merely admit, but insist, that our first duty in our great democracy is to make our educational system of service to the people as a whole. Our first duty is to try to raise the general level of welfare, of intelligence, of conscience, and, therefore, of material and ethical prosperity—material and ethical well-being. That is our first duty, and I admit it absolutely. But I insist furthermore that if we only perform this one duty, we have come lamentably short of what we ought to do. I insist that if this university only does this first, even though most important, duty, it has come lamentably short of what we have a right to expect from it.

I wish to see turned out from this institution of learning, and other similar institutions of learning, not only the men who will be masters in that kind of applied science which has a direct bearing on industrial efficiency and success; I wish also to see these universities turn out scholars, students, men of productive scholarship; men who will do the highest work in the fields of abstract learning. I wish to see us produce in this country what we have not, save in exceptional cases, hitherto produced,—men who in science, in art, in literature, shall stand abreast of the very best men in any other country.

Remember this: when I speak of that species of achievement, I speak of the kind of achievement in which nothing counts but first-rate work. A thousand good men of second rate and third rate rank in literature do not in any shape or in any way make up for the lack of any one great master in literature. A thousand nice, industrious, plodding, small-sized, scientific people do not make up for the lack of a great master in science. You can have a thousand or a hundred thousand investigators doing second and third-rate work, but they will not take the place of a great man like Darwin. The paintings of a thousand second-rate painters are not worth a single Rembrandt. A thousand

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small historical workers do not equal a single Herodotus or Thucydides or Tacitus or Gibbon or Macaulay.

We ought to produce great musicians, great artists, great sculptors, great men of letters and of science. I am happy to say that we have produced two or three great sculptors; personally I believe that the work of the late St. Gaudens is as good as any work that has been seen since the most brilliant period of the Italian Renaissance. Indeed, his work ranks with that of the greatest masters of sculpture. I do not think it necessary to compare him with other sculptors; it is enough to say that I believe his statues will stand as among the statues which the world cannot afford to lose.

Remember, as I have already said, that when you come to science and literature and art it is not enough to say that "the sculptor (or sculptress) is the best in our country, sir," and that you really think that "for a new city he or she has done astonishingly well." The sculptures of Pergamum, if they had only been good, "considing that Pergamum was a new city," and "almost what you might get in Athens," would not be known now; we would not know the statue of the dying Gaul, or the frieze sculptures that tell of the war between Greek and Gaul, which the Greek regarded as the combat between Light and Darkness. We still delight ourselves with the sculptures of Pergamum only because they were the best of their kind, because they deserved to rank with the masterpieces of Attic art.

If all that could have been said of Theocritus was that it was very creditable for a new city like Syracuse to produce a pretty good poet, we would have forgotten Theocritus' name by this time. We keep his name in mind because he did the best work that any Greek literary man was then doing, and work which was of its kind—although a slighter kind that that of the epic or the drama—the very best that ever was done.

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So with Euclid and the other great masters of algebra and geometry,—the founders of geometry and algebra; we know them now because their work was positively good; not because they did "pretty good work," "considering that Alexandria was a new city." Their work had to be positively good, or it would not have been worth heeding.

And so here our work is worthless unless it stands comparison with the best kind of work that can be produced anywhere. We realize this very well in the field of applied science. In digging the Panama Canal, one reason we have been able to succeed has been that we had developed very much more efficient instruments—derricks, steam-shovels and the like—than our French predecessors had developed; we had developed the best machinery; we had developed the best kind of contractor, who could give us the best machinery; we had developed the kind of engineering and medical men who could grapple with the conditions better than any other men. It would not have helped us at all at Panama if we had failed and then had said that we had done "pretty well, considering we were a new country." In exactly similar fashion, our work in literature, art, and pure science must stand on its own merits, and must be the fruit of conscientious endeavor, and the very best of its kind.

My plea is that our great universities, while paying heed, as they ought, chiefly to vocational training, while paying heed, as they ought, chiefly to turning out men and women who will be of practical service in the life of the state, should also remember that our national life will be hopelessly one-sided and will come very far short of what the life of the Nation must be if it is to be a great Nation, unless we also steadfastly turn our attention to developing the kind of men who shall be masters in exceptional lines of work; unless in addition to the vocational training we have a cultural training which shall fit men to do the highest and best work in the fields of literary and artistic endeavor, and in the field of pure science,—of abstract

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science, of science not pursued with any expectation of making it immediately remunerative.

The Phoenicians in the early Mediterranean world played a great part. Carthage, Tyre, and Sidon stand as the types of great commercial cities. The Phoenicians produced the towering war-genius of all time in the person of Hannibal. But their civilization was purely a material civilization. They merely produced cities of successful merchants, of men who represented a successful commercial industrialism, and, in the one case of Carthage, of great military commanders. They were enterprising adventurers. They were thrifty. They went as far in their expeditions for commercial purposes as any Yankee ship-captain ever did. They built city-states of extraordinary material prosperity. But they did not leave a single achievement of any kind in abstract knowledge, or non-remunerative science and art, behind them; and so their influence upon the world of to-day is absolutely negligible compared with the influence of the Greek and the Roman.

The blood of the Greek does not flow in the veins of any nation of Western civilization; but the spirit of the Greek permeates every civilization that is worth calling such. The Roman has left his tongue and his culture over a third of Europe and half of America, and has impregnated all the rest of Europe and all of the outer world that has sprung from Europe with his spirit; he has left us the heirs of the Roman law, of the Roman science of administration, of the Roman civilization. We are their heirs to-day. You students here are carrying on your studies, are carrying on your lives, in accordance with the legacy left us by the Roman and the Greek, who died out, who perished from the face of the earth fifteen hundred or two thousand years ago. We are their heirs of the spirit. We have inherited from them the major part of what we have ourselves developed into our own civilization. Their material prosperity is little to us; the heritage they left us is a heritage of the mind and the spirit.

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This would never have been true if they had not developed exceptional men to do exceptional tasks, not only in administration and government, not only in city-building and road-making, but in the great fields of art, of literature, and of science. We have a right to expect that here in America there shall be in the end a similar development; we have a right to expect that, while devoting our force and our energies to raising the common level, our higher institutions of learning shall also with seriousness and earnestness devote a good portion of their energies to the cultural training which shall give us the opportunity in our turn as a nation to develop the exceptional men, the exceptional masters in the highest fields of abstract intellectual achievement, in the field of literature, the field of art, and the field of abstract science.

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TOLSTOY AS A MAN OF LETTERS.

GEORGE R. NOYES.

With the passing away of Leo Tolstoy has disappeared the last and greatest of the great writers who made the second half of the nineteenth century a memorable period in the history of letters. Though Tolstoy wrote in a language practically unknown outside of its own country, no other author of his time has won so wide a circle of readers of all classes, from statesmen to laborers, from academicians to peasant schoolboys. As a writer of imaginative literature he has made a more catholic appeal than Victor Hugo, Balzac, or Zola; Thackeray or George Eliot or Ibsen. As a preacher upon ethical and social problems he has exerted a broader and probably a deeper influence than Ruskin, Emerson, or Nietzsche. As a man he became better known throughout the world during his own lifetime than has any other author who has ever lived. His portrait and his personality are as familiar as those of Bismarck or Lincoln.

Strangely enough, this great writer of books, this greatest novelist, perhaps, of all time, was almost wholly lacking in what we commonly term the literary temperament. Tolstoy was never an enthusiastic reader or admirer of novels, still less of the drama or of poetry. He was most influenced by books that treated of personal conduct and of social relations, by Rousseau, Schopenhauer, and above all by the New Testament. For the greater part of his life he was only secondarily a man of letters; primarily he was

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a soldier, man of society, schoolmaster, farmer, or religious teacher. In his criticism of other writers he dealt almost exclusively with the moral foundations of their work, or at most with the psychological truth of the characters that they created, never with their technical skill in literary construction or with the aesthetic beauty of their style. Thus he was usually somewhat contemptuous of the novels of his friend Turgenev, though he once spoke of him, evidently in admiration of the gentle, sympathetic spirit of his work, as "a spring of pure and limpid water." To Dostoevsky he was attracted, as he was to Dickens, by his boundless sympathy for the humble and downtrodden, not by his amazing power of psychological analysis and of close-knit literary construction. For beauty of poetic form Tolstoy had almost no regard, as is amply shown by the slight value that he placed upon Shakespeare and Goethe, with both of whom he was familiar. Once he characteristically complained that Matthew Arnold had so often chosen to express his admirable ethical doctrines in verse, when he might have done so more simply and clearly in prose. Clear and simple teaching as to man's conduct in his daily life must distinguish any writer who would win Tolstoy's admiration. Hence he roundly condemned Shakespeare and Ibsen; the skill with which these dramatists drew human character could not atone for their lack of clear moral convictions.

Tolstoy's own novels are such as one might expect from this peculiar temperament. As a boy he did not dabble in literature; he seems never to have made experiments in writing until, in 1852, at the age of twenty-four, he produced a masterpiece in his *Childhood*. This and the works that followed, *Boyhood, Youth, Sebastopol Sketches, The Cossacks,* are in form mere fragments; sketches of life in a well-to-do Russian family, in a besieged town under fire, in a military post on the frontier, rather than novels in any strict sense of the term. The author did not try to construct a regular plot or to write descriptions of beautiful

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scenery in a style that should appeal to the ear by its music. In *The Cossacks* he sedulously avoided the opportunities thrust upon him for gorgeous pictures of mountain ravines and thrilling narratives of guerilla warfare. Nor is *War and Peace*, Tolstoy's masterpiece in fiction, of a radically different type; it is vast and chaotic as *The Anatomy of Melancholy* and for the most part as prosaic as *Barchester Towers*. In *Anna Karenin* alone of his larger novels, and there incompletely and as it were by accident, Tolstoy condescended to heed the technical rules of literary construction; the book, despite its baffling wealth of incidents and its apparent waste of good material, keeps our attention in eager suspense from its opening chapter to its tragic close. Still more perfect unity Tolstoy attained again and again in his shorter tales, his dramas, and his religious works, only to throw it aside contemptuously in his *Resurrection*. *War and Peace* remains the most characteristic as well as the greatest product of his genius. One may well inquire, then, what qualities Tolstoy possessed that, despite his neglect of the most fundamental tenet of a novelist's art, the construction of a firm, well-knit plot, made him a supreme master of prose fiction. At the risk of being too mechanically precise, these may be defined as his genius for external observation, his unsurpassed psychological analysis, his ever-present interest in moral and spiritual problems, his instinctive sincerity, and his conscientious, painstaking enthusiasm for truth.

Scarcely any novelist gives his readers the same sense of concrete, external reality as Tolstoy. Perhaps he is here most akin to Defoe, with whom, despite his infinitely wider range and greater genius, he has in common the direct simplicity of his observation. Like Defoe, he draws external nature and external objects only as connected with the everyday life of man; his outlook on the world is not that of a painter or a poet, but of a human being intent on the business of the moment. Nothing could be more free from apparent literary artifice, and nothing more convincing

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from its perfect simplicity, than his description of his heroine, the peasant girl Maryana, in *The Cossacks*: "The harvest time had begun two weeks ago, and the hard, uninterrupted work had occupied all the life of the young girl. She jumped up from bed with the dawn, washed her face in cold water, wrapped herself with a kerchief, and ran barefooted to the cattle. She hastily put on her shoes and her half-coat, and, tying some bread in a bundle, hitched the oxen, and went for the whole day to the vineyard. There she rested but one hour; she cut the grapes and carried the baskets, and in the evening, merry and not at all tired, she returned to the village, leading the oxen by a rope, and urging them on with a long stick. After housing the cattle in the twilight, she filled her wide shirt-sleeves with seeds, and went to the corner to laugh with the girls. But the moment the evening glow gave place to darkness, she walked back to the house, and, having eaten her supper in the dark dairy, with her father, her mother, and her little brother, she walked into the room, free from cares and healthy, and seated herself on the oven and, half-dozing, listened to the lodger's conversation. The moment he left, she threw herself down on the bed, and slept until morning a quiet, sound sleep. The next day was the same."

Here, as almost everywhere, Tolstoy uses external details merely to show character; by these few sentences he acquaints us with the thoughts of Maryana as well as with her outward life. So we know Levin by his eager efforts to keep abreast of his peasant laborers, as, straining his sweating limbs, he swings his scythe in the hay field; Vronsky by his anxious yet joyful air as he scans the muscles of his mare Frou-Frou in her stall; Stiva by his glowing face as he sits at table ordering oysters and champagne. Both Turgenev and Tolstoy describe excursions of a hunter shooting birds: Turgenev lingers with the enthusiasm of a water-color artist over the golden foliage of the birches outlined against the pale-blue sky, or over the whitish mist hanging above the meadows, until we forget

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the hunter and his errand; Tolstoy, identifying himself with his hero, tells of the thin whistle of the snipe, the whir of their wings as they rise, the click of the hammers of the hunter's gun and the flash and report as he shoots, while of scenery he gives only such glimpses as might occur to an impressionable young farmer: "The sun set behind the dense forest, and in the twilight the little birches that were scattered through the aspen grove stood out in sharp outlines with their pendent branches, with their swollen buds, ready to burst. . . . In the intervals of complete quiet could be heard the rustling of last year's leaves, which were stirring from the thawing of the ground and the sprouting of the grass. 'How fine! One can hear and see the grass grow!' Levin said to himself, as he noticed a slate-colored wet aspen leaf moving near a blade of young grass."

Thus for Tolstoy nature has no mystic charm; it is the visible, tangible, audible abiding-place of man, deriving its interest from man's use of it. His talent, however, is not in the least photographic or scientific; he knows how to select just the details that are significant and suggestive. For his genius in this regard Turgenev, who had no sympathy with Tolstoy's spiritual struggles and was not attracted by his psychologic methods, cherished the most unbounded admiration; on the appearance of *The Cossacks* in 1863 he hailed that apparently slight story as the masterpiece of Russian fiction. Of a passage in *War and Peace,* describing the march to battle of two companies of infantry, he said with enthusiasm: "I know nothing superior to that description in any contemporary literature. That is real description. That is what description ought to be."

In its lowest form Tolstoy's power of depicting character by means of external details borders on Dickens' habit of describing a man or woman by one physical trait, though it never, as is so often the case with Dickens, sinks into caricature; in its highest form it passes insensibly into the analysis of thought and emotion. We know Anna by

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her fresh, plump figure and by the curly ringlets that fall on her neck; we know her husband by his prominent, grotesque ears and by his habit of cracking his finger joints. She is a passionate woman, full of life and vigor; he is a man in whom almost every natural emotion has been choked by anxieties over formal reports and set speeches in the Council of State; she lives in a world of flesh and blood and he in one of ink and paper. Tolstoy acquaints us with all his characters in the same way that we come to know our own associates; when he describes Natasha and Ellen at the ball he tells us of their moral natures quite as much as of their physical appearance: "Natasha danced exquisitely. Her little feet in their satin dancing-shoes performed their task lightly and independently of her, and her face beamed with a rapture of happiness. Her bare neck and arms were thin and not beautiful compared with Ellen's shoulders. But Ellen was, as it were, covered with the hard varnish of those thousands of eyes that had scanned her person, while Natasha seemed like a young girl stripped for the first time, who would have been greatly ashamed if she had not been assured by every one that it must be so."

Tolstoy's methods of psychological analysis are hardly less distinctive than his command over the external world. Unlike Dostoevsky, and unlike George Eliot and Meredith, he identifies himself with the men and women he creates, and carries his analysis of their thoughts, feelings, and motives no farther than they themselves would be capable of carrying it. Since his favorite characters are never intellectually subtle, being guided in their lives more by feeling than by logical theories, his analysis is, or rather seems, of a simple and obvious sort. He pays small heed to great, predominating passions, love, hatred, ambition, greed. In *Anna Karenin* we have only an apparent exception. The love of Anna and Vronsky is a tragic passion that overshadows their whole lives. But Tolstoy never discusses its rise and progress; he makes us feel it as a vague, indefinable, irresistible impulse. Anna herself is only

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dimly conscious of the change that has come over her. Reading her story, we remark her lack of charm for her brother's children, and of interest in them, on the morning after her meeting with Vronsky in the ballroom; then, on her return home, we note her repulsion for her husband, whose ugly ears now surprise her for the first time, and her disappointment in her little boy Seryozha, on whom she has previously concentrated all her affection. We know of her passion for Vronsky from her altered attitude to the world about her, not from any direct analysis of her feelings by herself or any reflections on them by the author. Were Anna to become self-conscious she would be a professor of psychology rather than a passionate woman.

Tolstoy's special art is seen rather in his emphasis on those secret impulses of which each of us is aware, but which each of us keeps to himself with a sort of shame, imagining that they are his peculiar possession. So the boy narrator in *Childhood,* when bowed by the sincerest grief of his life, is still careful, as he kneels by his mother's dead body, not to soil his new trousers, and notices that his father, as he stands crossing himself, is anxious to impress the spectators by the grace of his motions. The officers in the besieged army at Sebastopol are not moved by love of country or by a spirit of self-sacrifice, but by a desire to be seen of men and to win a decoration. Petty vanity, Tolstoy exclaims, is the real spring of human action, rather than any of the great passions of which poets and philosophers write so eloquently. But the Russian *Vanity Fair* is quite different from the English; Tolstoy is not the master of a puppet-show; instead of cynically commenting on the foibles of his characters he enters into their souls and makes them speak for themselves.

Yet Tolstoy cannot justly be reproached with showing only the baser side of man's nature. His picture of Natasha at her first party, in *War and Peace,* with her bubbling girlish unconsciousness, is wholly delightful. The stern, rough farmer novelist has guessed the most secret thoughts

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of the little maiden, and enters into her joy when he writes: "Natasha was happy as she had never been in her life. She was at that highest pitch of happiness when one becomes completely good and kind, and disbelieves in the very possibility of evil, unhappiness, and sorrow." Even vanity and self-seeking Tolstoy often makes innocent, amusing, and attractive. In *Anna Karenin,* when he describes Kitty as she enters the ball-room, he shows full sympathy with the girl's delight in her frills and furbelows: "Kitty was in one of her happy days. Her gown was not tight anywhere, her lace bertha did not droop anywhere, the rosettes were not crushed and had not torn off; the pink slippers with high, hollow heels did not pinch her little feet, but made them merry. The black velvet of her medallion encircled her neck with special tenderness. That velvet was charming, and at home, glancing at her neck in the mirror, Kitty had felt that that velvet talked. Of all else there might still be doubt, but that velvet was charming. Kitty smiled even here at the ball, glancing at it in the mirror. In her bare shoulders and arms Kitty felt a sensation of cold marble of which she was particularly fond. Her eyes shone, and her rosy lips could not help smiling from the consciousness of her own attractiveness."

This abundant satisfaction in existence for its own sake is not confined to delightful young girls like Natasha and Kitty among Tolstoy's characters; it fills Natasha's thoughtless brother Nikolai as he rides through the open field at the wolf hunt, and Kitty's serious, spiritually-minded husband Levin as he mows his swath beneath the hot sun. Indeed it pervades all Tolstoy's writings up to the time of his religious conversion, when an overmastering sense of the world's evil began to quench his wholesome enjoyment of sound, healthy physical pleasure. This elemental joy of life gives his tales a charm akin to that of romance, despite his deliberate avoidance of romantic plot and coloring. It furnishes an escape from the world of vanity in one direction just as his emphasis on the spiritual life does in another. It

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lends to his drawing of character a certain Shakespearian impartiality. Towards vanity or even sin that arises from unreflecting animal spirits Tolstoy can never be severe. Anna's brother Stiva is a society Falstaff who violates every commandment of the decalogue, but who is pardoned by the stern Puritan Tolstoy because of his jovial good nature and thoughtless kindliness. Moral indignation Tolstoy, like Thackeray, reserves for men and women who sin through a corrupt nature or through deliberate self-seeking, for the Kuragin family in *War and Peace* and the Princess Betsy in *Anna Karenin*.

On the other hand, though Tolstoy can find amusement in the life of a thoughtless man of the world, he never joins Thackeray in condoning sins of the flesh. If he does not condemn Stiva, it is because he cannot bring himself to apply his own moral standards to such a thoughtless, animal-like nature. Even in his first works, Tolstoy is already a Puritan moralist. Though in his earlier years he was by no means faultless in his own conduct, being continually tossed hither and thither by strong passions, he wrote always from his best self, as a man honestly striving to lead a moral life. To the characters in the foreground of his novels he gave some portion of his own nature; the chief heroes in *Childhood, Boyhood, and Youth; The Cossacks, War and Peace,* and *Anna Karenin* are all to some extent autobiographic. The men whom Tolstoy really loves are all beset with spiritual problems, not merely actuated by self-interest and by sexual passion, as are the characters of so many of the French novelists. Tolstoy regards the spiritual life as the deepest part of man's nature, and deals with it in the same masterly fashion that he does with the external world. *Anna Karenin,* despite its wealth of concrete detail, is, quite as truly as *The Scarlet Letter,* a drama of the soul.

Tolstoy's novel's, however, are ethical rather than religious or philosophical; Tolstoy does not interpret the world in the light of some definite philosophic theory, but, like

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Dickens and Thackeray, infinitely superior though he be to either of them in spiritual insight, he preaches a simple doctrine of charity, self-sacrifice, and brotherly love. This statement is perfectly true of his early works, written when he himself was a "nihilist" or agnostic; it is hardly less so of *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenin,* in which he develops a philosophic or religious view of the world without letting it in the least modify his truthful picture of society as he finds it; it is not entirely false even in *The Kreutzer Sonata* and *Resurrection,* in which he writes with a religious ardor that borders on fanaticism. Unlike Thomas Hardy or George Eliot, Tolstoy does not so manipulate his plot as to illustrate some moral theory. Tess falls a victim to a cruel, irresponsible fate that presides over human destiny, Tito Melema's moral nature slowly degenerates as the result of single small acts of cowardice; but Anna and Vronsky are influenced by a complicated web of circumstances that cannot be explained by any one simple law. It is vain to connect the scriptural motto of the novel, "Vengeance is mine; I will repay," with Anna's fate; she dies not because she has defied the moral law in being unfaithful to her husband, but because she has defied the conventions of society in leaving his house and living openly with her lover. A cynic might conclude that easy-going epicureans like Stiva, or corrupt hypocrites like the Princess Betsy, who live prosperously until the end of the book, are less culpable than the frank, sincere Anna who perishes.

In reality perfect sincerity has been Tolstoy's test of character, both in himself and in others, from the very beginning of his life. In *Childhood* the narrator tells how, as a little boy, he wrote some verses as a gift for his grandmother, concluding:

> We will try never to bother,
> And will love you like our own mother.

The last line tortured his conscience; he loved his grandmother, but not in the same way that he loved his mother; the search for a rhyme had led him astray from the path of

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sincerity. The incident is beyond any reasonable doubt based on the novelist's own experience. The child Tolstoy here shows the same horror of literary artifice and convention that in his mature years made him condemn all poetic expression as of necessity partially false. This eagerness for exact sincerity was the source of that peculiarity of Tolstoy's psychologic method that has already been mentioned, his delight in unfolding the hidden feelings of his characters rather than those that they themselves love to exhibit to the public view. His sincerity of personal utterance reached its highest point in his religious works, which derive from it their peculiar power.

Tolstoy's instinctive personal sincerity is hardly to be distinguished from his conscientious endeavor to attain exact objective truth in every line that he wrote. Of his own enthusiasm for such truth he himself tells us in his *Sebastopol Sketches*: "Where in this tale is the evil shown that should be avoided? Where is the good that should be imitated? Who is the villain, who the hero of the story? All are good, and all are bad? . . . The hero of my tale, whom I love with all the power of my soul, whom I have tried to portray in all his beauty, who always has been, is, and will be beautiful—is Truth."

Every line that Tolstoy wrote confirms his own statement of his literary aims. Just as he made his chief heroes partial reproductions of himself, so he copied or modified his subordinate characters from the members of his own family. Significantly enough, he refrained from giving any introspective studies of women until after his own marriage. Natasha, his most charming creation, he then drew from his wife and her sister. Nowhere in his books, except in some of the parables of his latest years, did he depart from the description of Russian society, and rarely from that of those sections of Russian society with which he was perfectly familiar from long experience. He drew perfectly the life of the Russian aristocracy and of the peasantry on their estates, in peace and in war, but he had little

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to say of the Russian middle class of merchants and tradesmen, or of the laborers in the crowded Russian cities. Fortunately for the world, the classes with which he deals are those most important in Russia in the central years of the nineteenth century; his novels will preserve to future generations a unique picture of Russia at a time when the country was still little affected by western commerce and western industry.

In depicting the men to whom he gave large portions of his own individuality, Tolstoy deprived them of almost every trace of external charm. Neither their virtues nor their vices are conventionally heroic. Levin and Pierre Bezukhov are clumsy, unpresentable persons, full of grotesque failings, and subject to all sorts of moral lapses, who win our regard by their genuine striving to lead a moral life. Sometimes by their continual self-reproaches and resolves for betterment they become mawkish and tiresome, but on further acquaintance, on a second reading of their story, they recover our respect, and, what is more, our interest. These seekers after truth are superior, in the eyes of any person who has the least sympathy with Tolstoy's peculiar ethics, to their more polished, more brilliant, and more successful companions who merely follow the beaten paths of convention. Yet if we choose to laugh at them or despise them, we are welcome to do so; the great novelist has given with strict impartiality facts from which we may draw conclusions quite at variance with his own.

Sincerity, then, was Tolstoy's ideal, as it was that of Thackeray, and vanity and pretense the sins that most repelled him. But Tolstoy, not satisfied with a good-humored, however earnest rebuke of the follies of the world, gradually developed his perceptions into a connected scheme of religious philosophy. From his earliest years he was attracted by the simple, unassuming, hard-working Russian peasants, who do their duty with an unselfish absence of pretense. In *Childhood* the half-idiot peasant pilgrim Grisha is the representative of the sincere religious life;

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with a serene disregard of the world and its standards he serves God and his conscience. In *Sebastopol Sketches* and in *War and Peace* the common soldiers, by their silent courage, are the real heroes, while officers and generals serve only as useless decorations. Free from vanity, quietly submissive to fate, indifferent to self-seeking or self-parade, these peasant soldiers approach the ideal of human character. Thus in his novels Tolstoy depicts two worlds, one of the rich, cultivated, vain, and pretentious, the other of the poor, unlearned, sincere, and humble. The second world is the higher, and happy is the man who can escape into it from the first; or rather, if we take the half-way point of view of the novels, who, remaining in the first, can form his character according to the ideals of the second. Pierre Bezukhov, after helplessly struggling with despair and seeking vainly for relief in the mystic teachings of free masonry, is brought back to spiritual calm by the influence of the peasant Karataev. Levin finds his religious inspiration among the laborers who till his fields. This exaltation of the meek, submissive peasant type was the chief source of Tolstoy's religion of non-resistance. His later doctrines, though supported by the study of philosophy and by deep reflection on the teachings of the Gospels, were only the natural development of a mental attitude that had already been clearly shown in his first writings. His own change of outward life was a courageous adoption of those doctrines as the guide of his conduct. His religious conversion was not produced by the influence on him of any one teacher, but by his own temperament and by the whole course of his existence.

Tolstoy's religious teaching is not rendered more or less true by the literary skill with which it is presented, but from that skill, and from the forceful personality of Tolstoy himself, it derives the marvellous appeal that it has made to men of all countries. In *My Confession, My Religion, What to Do,* and *The Kingdom of God is Within You* Tolstoy shows the same literary genius as in his works

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of fiction. In construction, indeed, these little books are superior to his longer novels, with their sometimes perplexing wealth of detail. Into the eighty pages of *My Confession* he compresses the history of his own spiritual life; how he came to the conviction of the worthlessness of a worldly existence, how he sank to despair, how he was regenerated by contact with the religious ideas of the Russian peasantry. In *My Religion* he develops his own system of personal ethics, starting from the gospel precept, "I say unto you, that ye resist not evil." In *What to Do* he applies this ethical system to the solution of social problems, in particular, to that of wealth and poverty. In *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* he extends his field to international relations and writes a burning polemic against war. These works are all short, and are logically developed from a few fundamental precepts. In them Tolstoy shows his literary kinship with Bunyan, a self-trained man of the people, and with Swift, the master of cruel realism in his description of the ills of society, rather than with dainty literary artists like Addison or his own countryman Turgenev. But though these religious and social treatises, written to persuade and instruct, are apparently so different from the great novels, they derive their literary power from the same qualities. The spiritual life of which Tolstoy gave us glimpses in Bezukhov and Levin, and which in them was interesting and appealing, but somewhat vague and far away, he here presents with tremendous personal force. As a religious autobiography *My Confession* has a close English parallel in Bunyan's *Grace Abounding*. Different as are the problems with which the English and the Russian Puritan have to deal, they treat them with the same direct intensity. In *What to Do* the most powerful pages are those describing slum life in Moscow. The novelist's genius is seen at its best as, avoiding the melodramatic note that vitiates such work as Sinclair's *Jungle*, he selects with unerring instinct details that make the reader feel the misery caused by the present social order.

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When Tolstoy returned to the writing of fiction, after his religious struggles had partially come to rest, his serious work was not like that of his earlier years. The old animal delight in life for its own sake that pulsates through *War and Peace* is no longer felt in *The Death of Ivan Ilyich, The Kreutzer Sonata, The Power of Darkness* and *Resurrection*. These works deal almost wholly with the darkest sides of life, with anguish, lust, and murder rather than with folly and amusing vanity. Tolstoy has narrowed his genius; what he describes he treats no less truly than before, but he gives us no delightful maidenly portraits like those of Natasha and Kitty, no scenes of wholesome, joyous out-of-door existence like the wolf hunt and the mowing scene. His grim psychological analysis now occupies the foreground of his work; the soul struggles of Ivan Ilyich, as he wastes away in the grip of an incurable disease, without faith, hope, or the consciousness of useful deeds well done to cheer him, Tolstoy presents with a quiet mastery that far surpasses the morbid skill of Dostoevsky. While in *My Religion* he extols the power of love and self-sacrifice, in *The Kreutzer Sonata* and *The Power of Darkness* he shows the horror of a life untouched by any religious feeling. In *Resurrection* he attempted more positive work, but with only partial success, failing to depict the regeneration of his hero with the same skill that he had shown in drawing his corrupt youth. In fact Tolstoy could never perfectly blend his religious philosophy with his artistic genius; the two sides of his nature remained distinct until the close of his long life. The parables of his later years lack the vivid reality of the little stories of children that he composed earlier in his life for elementary reading-books. The story of *Little Philip*, telling of a tiny peasant boy's first visit to the village school, is more affecting by its direct and simple truthfulness than the shadowy *Esarhaddon*, and is quite as thoroughly filled with the spirit of brotherly love.

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Tolstoy's new mission as a Puritan preacher, it is pleasant to remember, could never quench in him the genial, wholesome, humorous humanity that had enabled him on a steamboat trip to become in a few hours the friend of every fellow traveler, and that had made him the beloved playmate of generations of small boys and girls. When he was already sixty-one he wrote for his children the jovial farce of *The Fruits of Culture,* which in his collected works stands beside the grewsome *Power of Darkness* that preceded it by three years.

During his last years Tolstoy, hitherto silent as to the work of other men, ventured into the field of criticism, and in his treatise *What is Art?* and in his essays on Guy de Maupassant and on Shakespeare, produced work that is remarkable not from any rounded, sympathetic appreciation of the writers and artists of whom he treats, but from its ringing presentation of one noble point of view, that conduct and morality are the chief concerns of man here on earth, and that brotherly love is the greatest part of morality. Art should be simple and clear, it should be accessible to all men, it should unite men instead of dividing them. The parables of Christ, not the tragedies of Shakespeare, are the greatest works of human genius. No artist can be indifferent to problems of conduct without producing bad art; no artist who does not offer a solution of those problems can produce the best art. No artist who is not clear and simple in his work, who addresses a small circle of specialists rather than the great body of men and women, produces art of permanent value. Tolstoy thus condemned many contemporary literary schools, particularly the symbolists and impressionists; he indeed contradicted almost all the tendencies of professional artists of our own time. Whether his voice crying in the wilderness was that of a madman or a prophet each reader must determine for himself. His sweeping condemnation of Shakespeare, Michael Angelo, Wagner, and other great artists showed a lack of sympathy and catholicity that is apt to

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seem whimsical and destroy the effect of an argument that, conducted with more moderation, would have won more assent. But Tolstoy's ideal remains one worthy of all admiration; the works that he praised he judged with real insight. With all its intolerant narrowness, so different from the calm breadth of his portrayal of the world of men and women in his earlier novels, Tolstoy's criticism of the world of art is stimulating and inspiring.

Although Tolstoy in his personal conduct may never have quite risen to his own ideal of absolute sincerity, still less to his ideal of Christian humility, his character was quite as remarkable as his writings. With all the fervor of a medieval saint, he attempted to shape his life by his faith, and he deserves reverence even for an attempt that fell short of perfect success. His history in his closing years is an impressive triumph of a great man over surrounding circumstances. A foe of State and Church, he showered denunciations upon them. The State, while it persecuted his followers and prohibited his writings, imprisoning men who dared to circulate them, dared not lay hands on the great rebel; even a despotism fears the force of public opinion. The Church, when it excommunicated him, increased his glory and showed more clearly its own impotence. A single man, who had steadfastly refused to group about him any organized body of followers, Tolstoy was more powerful than the officials and armies of the tsar.

In a famous passage at the close of his essay on Shakespeare Emerson laments the failure of the great poet of England to draw from his marvellous insight into the world of men and from his appreciation of its beauty, some measure of wisdom for the guidance of his own conduct: "It must even go into the world's history that the best poet led an obscure and profane life, using his genius for the public amusement." Even so, we may add, the great poet of Germany, though he shaped his conduct by a conscious philosophy, led a life that was anything but inspiring from

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a moral point of view; Goethe's self-cultivation, concentrated on the development of his own powers and on his own enjoyment, was selfish and in a sense narrow. Yet in the next breath Emerson denounces the opposite failure of "priest and prophet, Israelite, German, and Swede," who "beheld the same objects" and "also saw through them that which was contained." "And to what purpose? The beauty straightway vanished; they read commandments, all-excluding mountainous duty; an obligation, a sadness, as of piled mountains, fell on them, and life became ghastly, joyless, a pilgrim's progress, . . . and the heart of the seer and the heart of the listener sank in them." "It must be conceded that these are half-views of half-men," Emerson concludes,—"the world still wants its poet-priest, a reconciler, who shall not trifle, with Shakespeare the player, nor shall grope in graves, with Swedenborg the mourner; but who shall see, speak, and act, with equal inspiration. For knowledge will brighten the sunshine; right is more beautiful than private affection; and love is compatible with universal wisdom."

Perhaps Tolstoy has done more than any other writer to unite these two views of life, although even he was far from blending them in perfect harmony. The "great writer of our Russian land," as Turgenev termed him, was an interpreter of conduct as well as a portrayer of it; he saw the comedy and the tragedy of human life with a marvellous impartiality approaching that of Shakespeare, but he drew them as an earnest actor in them, not as a spectator or a showman. Unlike both Shakespeare and Goethe, he became a servant of his fellow men, filled with a spirit of Christian love. To the spirit of Shakespeare he added that of Bunyan. He showed all men Russia as it was in his own time, he made clear to all men the spiritual realities that lay hidden behind the passing show that he mirrored in his writings, and he strove to shape his own life in accord with those realities.

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THE TEACHING OF AGRICULTURE IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS.*

LEROY ANDERSON.

The other day a prominent San Francisco newspaper-man told me that in his journeys up and down Market Street he finds the business-men talking of two things, oil and agriculture. There is abundant reason for business-men to talk of oil in these days when much oil is being found in California and many fortunes have been made during the past few years and are still being made. There is reason likewise for business-men, the city financiers, to be talking of agriculture when there are so many large areas in the State which need the development that can come only by the application of capital, and which should provide homes for thousands of families who are attracted to the Golden State. There is more reason to talk agriculture than oil. When the oil-wells have been pumped out and we are seeking other materials for heat, light, and power, we shall still be dependent upon the soil for our food and clothing. Science may find other substances or forces equal in heat and power-producing qualities to oil; but it is not likely that there will be found a substitute for the common things which the soil now provides for the maintenance of life.

It is appropriate in this discussion to ask of what agriculture consists. Does it consist of plowing and harrowing

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and sowing, of harvesting and threshing, of planting and pruning and picking, of mowing, raking and stacking, of milking and making butter? Yes, it comprises these; but still a great deal more, and the "more" is the interesting part, the part which holds us to the soil, and which always proves the attractive feature of farming as an occupation. At the bottom of plowing lie the sciences of chemistry, physics, bacteriology, botany, and zoology. It is not enough that the farmer know how to hold the plow. He should know why he plows, and to know why he plows he must study the soil in its relation to these fundamental sciences, or study the fundamental sciences in their relation to the soil. The sower should know the character of the seed he is putting in the ground. He should know its breeding, and should have selected it in such a careful manner as to know that, provided the soil has the necessary food constituents and the waters come in due time, it will produce a higher yield than any other seed which he can obtain. The farmer should be a plant breeder, and enliven the otherwise tedious days with the pleasures of seed selection and improvement. One of the most prominent seed growers in the State, one who has made a great deal of money in growing sweet-peas and other flower, as well as vegetable seeds, told me that the vocation would have little attraction for him if he were not able continually to be breeding new and choice varieties of plants. If we pay more attention to seed selection, harvesting and threshing take on a new aspect, and the farmer gains a wider outlook upon the development of this chief industry of which we are a part. When we are milking the "Roan Durham" cow do we know what returns she is making for the cost of the food and care which we give her? Is she making more or less money than her neighboring cows in the herd? Are we handling the milk and the cream so that they give the best possible quality of butter, or are our returns from the creamery reduced because of carelessness or ignorance on our part?

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Fully one-third of the population is engaged in agriculture. In the country, both young and old profit by its resources and may enjoy its realm of beauty and activity. The entire population, whether urban or rural, is interested in it and dependent upon it. Here is ample reason, therefore, why agriculture should be taught in our schools,—reason enough without considering any other. Within the last generation the entire public mind has come to realize that agriculture is composed of subjects which may be taught in the schools with the same interest and value in mental training as other subjects which have formerly been supposed to hold a monopoly for the development of mental powers. In addition, at the same time, it supplies to the individual a knowledge of the business in which he is directly engaged, and gives him, therefore, greater confidence and greater power in working and coöperating with the natural forces with which he is constantly in contact.

It increases the financial success of those who study it. A recent investigation in western New York by the State College of Agriculture has shown that education counts for greater income. This investigation was conducted for the purpose of determining the investment in different kinds of farming operations and the income received from various farms. Incidentally each farmer was asked to state the highest school which he had attended, and calculation was made as to his labor income. The farm income is considered to be the difference between the sales and increase in inventory on the one hand and the expense of operation on the other. Deducting from the farm income interest upon the investment, at the usual rate, gives what is known as the labor income of the farmer himself. Data from some 570 farmers show that the average labor income of those who had attended the common schools only, was $318.00 a year, while the average labor income of those who had attended a high school or its equivalent was $622.00 a year. The training given in our schools, therefore, is shown to have a distinct money value. We have always believed it, but

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here are some actual figures. The increase in income attendant upon instruction higher than the grammar schools is equivalent to a $5000.00 bond bearing 6 per cent interest. Fathers know full well that they can give their sons a high school education for less than $5000.00. Do not understand me to say that these farmers who have the high school training received it in an agricultural high school. There were none in the days of their school attendance. If, however, the usual high school course can double the income of the attendant, how much more may be added if the instruction is more directly along the lines of his particular occupation.

To conserve and enrich the soil resources is the problem of modern agriculture,—to raise larger crops of better products and still maintain the soil fertility; and the solution is largely a matter of education. Not one of our natural resources demands more attention for its conservation than that of the soil. The rapid increase in population must depend upon two sources of food supplies,—new land brought under cultivation and increased production from land already under the plow. The latter must be our chief dependence; but we cannot hope for the necessary increase of products unless the man who is tilling the soil really knows something of the scientific basis upon which his industry depends, and is trained to think about his activities. The nineteenth century shows an increase in population in this country equal approximately to a doubling every twenty-five years. The population in 1900 was a little more than 75,000,000. If it increases at the same rate as during the past century, the year 2000 will find us with a population of more than 1,000,000,000. If it actually reaches no more than one-third of this number we need to think only a moment of that multitude of people to realize both what the products of the soil must be to provide for their daily wants, and also how wise and careful we must be if we are to give posterity a goodly heritage.

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We should teach agriculture in order that no young man or woman may leave the farm for another vocation, thinking that there is nothing worth while in farming. We are not anxious to make farmers of those who really desire and are especially fitted to be lawyers, or doctors, or ministers; neither do we want to make ministers, doctors, or lawyers of those who had better be farmers. What we do want, and what every person has a right to demand, is an opportunity to find out in the schools that there is something in agriculture which is worth the time of the best intellect and the best talent, that a life on the farm is not mere drudgery if the farmer knows the sciences and the literature pertaining to agriculture. He will then know that his life may be rounder and fuller and completer than it would be were he shut up in a shop, store, or office in the crowded city.

I take it that we should teach agriculture in order that the youth may be brought to appreciate the value of small things, the value of a small farm. We are all, both old and young, carried away with the spirit of speculation. In the cities we want to make our fortunes in city lots. In the southern half of the State we are hoping to become rich by possessing an oil well. All over the State, we are looking with envious eyes upon the man who owns hundreds, yea, thousands of acres of land with an income in proportion, and we think that there is no use of our trying to be a farmer because we cannot buy as many acres as the man who received his from a Spanish grant. It is only a small percentage of our population that can hope to attain to these large things. We will be grateful to them if they will make less noise about their large holdings and resources and cut them up into small farms for sale to us poor folk at a price within our means and a price we can hope to pay from the returns within a reasonable number of years. Our schools and all institutions must somehow show the young that the great majority of the population will have to be content with smaller things, and that after all the greatest contentment and the largest appreciation of nature and of

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social companionship will come from a quiet life spent upon as many acres as one family can till.

We should study agriculture for the contentment which it brings. Happiness is dependent to a very large degree upon the intellectual interest which one has in his occupation. I cannot conceive of a farmer being happy who does not have a mental understanding, at least partial, of the forces with which he is daily working. I cannot conceive of any one being more truly happy than the farmer who understands, as thoroughly as modern science can let us understand, the forces with which he is in daily contact, who appreciates that he is working in collaboration with nature. Not only the contented farmer, but the successful one of the future must have this knowledge. The school is the place for him to obtain it. The farmer of to-day has a right to demand that his son and daughter shall find this training in the school nearest his home. It is incumbent, therefore, upon every high school to teach some agriculture in order that the proper knowledge may be distributed as widely as possible throughout the State and Nation.

Interest in teaching agriculture is world wide, and all evidence points in the direction of its usefulness and of its success as a subject for secondary schools. The main agricultural topics have been so well reduced to pedagogical form in the colleges that their presentation in secondary schools is a matter of adaptation, which in the hands of wise teachers is easily accomplished. One marked advantage of the secondary agricultural school is the possibility of its securing the attention of the boy and girl at an age when the majority of boys and girls are finding the high school inadequate to their future as they see it, and when something vocational strongly appeals to them. The school brings to their mind the fact that on the farm there is something of scientific value and study which is worthy of the best intellects, and that there is something to the farm beside manual labor and drudgery. This school provides the agricultural training at an age when the majority of

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young people are able to devote time to study; and it has the added advantage of coming closer to the people. Since they are not so expensive to establish as colleges, agricultural schools can be distributed over the state in such a manner as to be reasonably near to all prospective students. Because of their number and distribution, and because of their greater democracy, as it were, in teaching, they, instead of the college, are being looked to to develop the educated farmers of the future.

The necessity for a wider distribution of agricultural instruction throughout this state is seen in a little calculation as to the number of persons to be reached by available schools. The census of 1900 gives the number of farms in California as 72,542. An estimate by the State Board of Trade places the number in 1909 at about 100,000. It is not too much to desire that there be on each farm a man who has had some education in agriculture. To insure this permanently, each farm would need one such man each generation, or every thirty-three years. Placing the length of the course at three years, as is usual in special schools, and assuming that the farm boy would finish the course, it would require a continual attendance of 9000 boys. Or if the average attendance were only one year the number would be 3000. Surely a promising opportunity for the schools!

Let us examine more closely the two general methods employed in presenting agriculture to pupils of secondary grade, viz.: in the special and in the regular schools. The special agricultural school is understood to be an institution founded mainly to give instruction in agriculture, and it usually also carries instruction in household arts. This school is, in part, at least, a protest against the regular high school, as the college of agriculture and mechanic arts was a protest against the established colleges of fifty years ago. Boys who attend these schools do so because they desire to study agriculture, and the whole atmosphere is agricultural. Of these there are almost as many types as

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there are states that have established them. Minnesota, Nebraska, Colorado, and California each has one in connection with the College of Agriculture. Wisconsin has committed herself to the plan of a county system, and now has one in each of five counties. New York has attached two to as many old time colleges and established a third as a distinct and separate institution. Alabama and Georgia have established one in each congressional district. Oklahoma is divided into six districts for the founding of as many separate institutions. California has one set away by itself at San Luis Obispo, without connection with any educational system or any college.

Special agricultural schools enjoy some advantages which are akin to those of the college of agriculture. When connected with the college they share the college's equipment, and their instruction is usually given by the staff of the college. When not connected with the college they are separated far enough from each other, and draw upon a territory wide enough to be provided with a goodly sized farm and money for a very respectable equipment, including also livestock, which is the most expensive feature. They are able to employ a teaching and experimenting staff especially trained in agriculture, the members of which can, in addition to teaching in the school, hold farmers' institutes, conduct demonstrations, and carry on other extension work in the immediate community. They are, accordingly, to the county or district, what the college is to the state, while they have the advantage of proximity to local conditions and needs, and, therefore, of a better understanding of those conditions and needs.

It is some twenty-two years since the establishment of the first special school of agriculture at St. Anthony Park on the site of the Minnesota College of Agriculture. The enrollment of students has increased from 40 during the first year to 700 at the present time. Two more such schools have been opened in Minnesota within the past five years, one in the northeastern and one in the western part of the

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State. In 1898 Nebraska opened a similar school at the College of Agriculture with an initial enrollment of three students. The number during 1909-10 was 350. Colorado is the winning state in the way of popular response to the announcement that a school of agriculture would be opened at the College. Such news was spread in August, 1909, and more than 100 appeared upon registration-day, early in October. Before the holidays the enrollment had increased to 200. The University of California opened her school at Davis in January, 1909, with twenty students, and the present term has an enrollment of seventy-seven. Data are not at hand, nor does space permit, to record the growth of county and district agricultural schools in other states. Suffice it to say that as evidenced by attendance, all such schools have uniformly had reason to believe that the instruction given was meeting a distinct need in the community.

Agriculture in the established high schools is of more recent development than in those just described. The growth, however, in the number of schools attempting to teach the subject indicates a belief that the people desire such instruction. In some states the introduction of agriculture has been made possible by legislative aid; in others, by local and voluntary effort. I am glad to say that in no case, so far as I know, has this state aid been accompanied by a mandatory act compelling the teaching of agriculture. In 1908 the New York legislature passed a law for the encouragement of industrial education by providing that any public school above the elementary grades that establishes such work shall receive from the state $500 for one teacher so employed and $200 for each additional teacher. Last year fourteen New York high schools were reported as teaching agriculture, and at least fifty more would be teaching the subject if qualified teachers could have been secured.

In the same year, 1908, the Virginia legislature passed an act appropriating $20,000 annually to each of ten high

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schools that would employ an agricultural teacher. The schools were located by a board, which provided for a fair and even distribution of the funds, and work began in the Fall of that year. A personal visit to one of the schools in January, 1910, showed good work accomplished in the face of many difficulties. The most promising feature was the formation, under the leadership of the teacher, of a Farmers' Institute, which during the first year enjoyed an average attendance of seventy-five at the monthly meetings. This insures the support of an organized community, which means success.

Following the example of New York, the Minnesota legislature in 1909 made an appropriation to aid the teaching of agriculture, manual training, and domestic science in high, graded, and consolidated schools. The act provides that the school applying for aid shall employ trained instructors in industrial subjects, and shall have a tract of land suitable for school gardens and demonstrations, of not less than five acres; that each school shall receive state aid equal to two-thirds of the amount actually expended upon such department, but in no case to exceed $2500 per year; and that not more than ten schools shall receive aid the first year, nor more than ten be added to the list every two years thereafter. Minnesota is thus committed to both the special and the regular types of agricultural high schools.

Nebraska was deterred from passing a similar act in 1909 only by the amount of the appropriation, which in their case would have been $100,000 for the biennial period. The State Superintendent, in coöperation with the College of Agriculture, has suggested and outlined five subjects for introduction into high schools, each to occupy a half year, viz., animals, horticulture, soils, farm crops, and dairying. In order to fit themselves for the good time coming the county superintendents and high school men of Nebraska have organized a "School Masters' Agriculture Club" to study these subjects. This year (1909-10) they are studying animals, and they meet monthly at Lincoln

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for a conference, part of which is held at the agricultural college. A Federal report of May, 1910, says Nebraska has 103 high schools giving instruction in agriculture. Michigan has begun in much the same manner, as has Nebraska and California, without any special state aid or legislation. In 1908 the Board of Education at North Adams, Michigan, requested the college of agriculture to outline a course of study for them. The result was that one of the graduates of the college began teaching agriculture in that high school the following Fall. Now, nine high schools are giving the work and others are clamoring for teachers.

California began in 1909 with four high schools having specially prepared agricultural teachers, viz., Bakersfield, Oxnard, Gardena, and Imperial. Fresno fell in line the following February. The Fall of 1910 sees several more added to the list, among them being Brawley, Holtville, Huntington Beach, Porterville, Hanford, Ceres, Stockton, Salinas, Livermore, and Ferndale. Evidence of support on the part of governing boards cannot be better shown than by a few illustrations citing equipment provided in the way of land. Within the year Oxnard High School has secured four acres, a city block; Gardena fourteen acres at a cost of $14,000; Bakersfield twenty-four acres to establish a small dairy and other demonstrative features; Huntington Park twenty-one acres; and St. Helena is to begin soon with sixteen acres. To the advocate of industrial education, this popular approval and support accorded agriculture in the regular school system is most refreshing.

I am reminded of a conversation a few months ago with a leader of industrial schools in the middle west whose opinion of high school agriculture may be thus epitomized: first, the atmosphere of the high school is all wrong; it is too academic, since its first use is and has been to 'fit' for the University; second, the students we want to reach are not in the high schools and will not go to high schools; third, the high schools can never hope to have sufficient equipment to teach agriculture in a complete and dignified

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manner that will command the respect of an agricultural community.

This indictment is severe; the first two items may be deserved in many high schools, but their number is growing less every year. Evidence already given above shows that sentiment at least is undergoing a change. The third point must be well taken when high schools are compared with special agricultural schools established by state aid in counties and congressional or even larger districts. An equipment such as is possessed, for instance, by the California Polytechnic School, enables it to give a class of instruction and to enjoy a prestige to which regular high schools cannot hope to attain, for the reason that there is not money enough so to equip every high school. Nor is it necessary or desirable. There is a place for both and a work for both to do. The majority of young people must needs secure what education they may from the home school. So far as concerns agriculture, let it consist (1) of the science underlying the industry, with a strong industrial or practical bearing, and (2) of distinctly agricultural subjects in so far as they can be presented and demonstrated in class room, laboratory, on a few acres of land, and by visiting neighboring fields, orchards, flocks, and herds. If the teacher be right minded, the pupils will receive a vast fund of information and inspiration for their life on the soil. Schools of the San Luis Obispo type, then, are for young men and women who are led to want more agriculture by the taste for that subject received in the grammar or high school, and for those who, for reasons of maturity or business, desire to gain as much instruction as possible in a short period.

Surely California is making splendid progress in providing opportunities for instruction in agriculture. It was in 1901 that the legislature passed the act establishing the California Polytechnic School at San Luis Obispo, and the institution opened two years later to teach agriculture, mechanics, and household arts to pupils who had completed

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the grammar grades. In 1905 the legislature made an appropriation to purchase a farm upon which the University of California should establish a school of agriculture. Recently the President of the University has publicly announced that another such school shall be placed upon the magnificent Kearny tract as soon as the debt on the estate is paid. Within two years nearly twenty high schools have begun to teach agriculture with an enthusiasm and vigor that augurs well for wider instruction.

There is need for teachers in this line of secondary work. The best men in the University are required,—men who can become leaders in the community by force of their character, personality, and training; men who can train others to become leaders; men who are willing to settle down for a life work in a given community, study its agricultural and other problems, and become a recognized authority to whom all may come for assistance. Permanency of tenure is even more necessary in the teacher of agriculture than of academic subjects, because it requires two or three years to begin thoroughly to understand local conditions. The right man may in every case make his school the real center of the life of his community,—a little college if you will—holding a relation to the locality as the bigger college does to the state. His salary, larger than the average, will be greatly augmented by the satisfaction of doing something really worth while in the world.

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AN ODE TO THE PIONEERS*

By Alice Lorraine Andrews, '12

I

Proud Children of creative Destiny
Which, prescient of your coming, erstwhile clove
Through barriers stablished from eternity
The gateway of that West toward which ye strove!
Brave hearts of hope, that dared live out your dream,
Nor feared to hazard the Titanic rage
Of elemental powers, but steadfast pressed
On, following far the gleam—
Promise of fuller freedom for the age,—
Nor recked you of the cost, nor stayed your quest!

* This poem received the first award of the Emily Chamberlain Cook prize offered by Professor Cook of Yale University to the University of California for the best unpublished verse, the committee of award consisting of Professors Cornelius Beach Bradley, Albert Stanburrough Cook, and Grosvenor Osgood.

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II

How joyously ye sought your rendezvous,
Drawn irresistibly upon the breast
Of confluent streams! What courage did endue!
How girded ye your loins! What fiery zest,
Forward impelling, bade forsake each haunt
Of childhood's tenderest memory, that weaves
A chaplet of spring wildings for the heart
To cherish—secret vaunt
Of how throughout Time's book the loosened leaves,
Albeit tattered, never tear apart!

III

Whether ye came because the leprous hand
Of servitude was knocking at your door;
Or that Nez Perces forth from their far land
Had sent their braves to eastward searching for
'The White Man's Book of Heaven'; or yet the lust
Of wilder-wandering hung upon your soul,
Till earth's wide, vacant places summoned loud;
Or golden lure of dust,
Garnered in granaries of rocks, claimed toll,
Returning thousand-fold—or else a shroud:—

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IV

What purposes soe'er, what high resolves
Had set your feet to walk in company,
Guessed ye, 'On us God's mighty will devolves
The fate of all the West with its calm sea'?
Or did ye ponder, plodding 'cross the flat
Monotony of prairie stretching out
To greet the same horizon day by day,
How by the shallow Platte
Ye wove the cincture lengthening slow about
Man's globe, linking the nations close for aye?

V

Perchance some whisperings prophetic stole
Into the silent musings of a few;
Perchance none caught the deep, portentous roll
Of purposes imperial, nor knew
Themselves as instruments of such great plan
As ne'er before had seized and swept a nation
Full fronting westward to the setting sun.
Oh, ne'er before to man
Was proffered nobler prize of gratulation
Than in the race reserved for you to run!

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VI

A weary way, a long and weary way
Was yours to traverse, fraught with perils thick,
Untried, undreamt of; hardly durst ye stay
To lay the dead to rest, or soothe the sick,
Lest from invisible ambuscade should pour
With raucous, devil-howls a murderous throng,
Lithe, painted tiger-forms, joying to kill
Your babes, and drive before
In mad stampede your frighted oxen strong,
Leaving the wagons desolate and still.

VII

Or when, no more by hostile tribes bestead,
Ye slow, with arduous, unfaltering toil,
Gained upland reaches, at its font and head
Drank of the Sweetwater, and passed to soil
Virgin, untrod save by the nomad's feet,
Smote on you then a chill and parching blast,
From off Wind River's bleak, blue mountain-side;
And lo! a film of heat
Palpitant hung above the desert's vast,
Till with day's parting pageantry it died.

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VIII

The known behind; before, the wilderness;
The continent outstretched beneath; all round,
Gaunt Famine's lowering threat. Still durst ye press
On, till the hoped-for guerdon should be found.
How could ye thrid those haunts of death? No fear
Gripped your stout hearts, ye comrades, at the glint
Fateful of Donner, deep within his cup
Of darkling pines. No tear
Dimmed your firm gaze. Naught but a sigh gave hint
Of pity stirred within, full-surging up.

IX

Then, then ye clomb Sierra's ramparts, strode
The summit of your Pisgah. 'Lo! behold
The Land of Promise!' Richer far it showed
Than Canaan to the wanderers of old.
O Souls intrepid! young, for ever young.
Careless of fame, but holding honor dear,
And conscience, God-bestowed, and liberty—
Great Conquerors unsung!
Your vision shall not fail. Clearer, more clear,
Its image rises on posterity.

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WHAT ARE THE CANONICAL BOOKS FOR THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE LITERATURE?*

J. H. Senger.

If art is the representation of the 'beautiful' in its visible and audible form, a definition which has stood the test of many centuries, we are immediately confronted with the evaluation of the 'beautiful.' There can be no objection to the dialectic resolution of the definition attributed to Socrates: *πάντα οἷς ἄνθρωποι χρῶνται καλά τε κἀγαθὰ νομίζεται, πρὸς ἅπερ ἂν εὔχρηστα ᾖ.*[1] His *εὔχρηστα* is comprised in the objective, the 'true'; and with the subjective, the 'good,' the synthesis yields the 'beautiful' to complete the spiritual world to which man, posited as a being endowed with a free soul—the *homo noumenon* of Kant—is entitled.

Furthermore, we believe with Lotze[2] that it is possible to conceive that whatever in the things themselves is the cause of the impression of beauty made on the sentient being is a predicate of importance in itself and belongs as an essential part to a complete world.

The 'beautiful' cannot be taken in the form of an intuition, nor in the form of a concept, but only in the form of an idea, which has its *raison d'être* exclusively through the significance of its final object; under all possible variations of forms this must never be lost sight of.

* A paper read at the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, November 25, 1910.

[1] Xenophon, *Mem.* 3, 8, 5.

[2] *Grundzüge der Ästhetik*, Leipzig: 1884, §§ 6, 7.

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The final object of art, in the sense in which we use the term, cannot be an imitation of nature, that it may give pleasure, as Seneca[3] has it, but *Katharsis,* in the sense of Plato,—the freeing from our human ailments (*κάθαρσις τῶν ἡδονῶν*).

The domain of art may be surveyed in a like manner, so that architecture, sculpture, painting represent her objectively, music subjectively, and poetry, the art of all arts, subjecto-objectively. In the world of reality we may distinguish the beautiful by a threefold consideration:[4] (1) according to the general forms of intuition—space, time, causality [motion]—on which all our experience depends (objectively); (2) according to the definite types of the various real beings (subjectively); and (3) according to the entirety of world-events of which they are a part (subjecto-objectively). In turn, every piece of art, (1) should remind us of the existence of general laws which prevail within and without its particular domain, thus presenting not a vacant dream, but a part or a picture of something real; (2) should display to us a definite and concrete actuality, subject to these laws, but not derived from them exclusively; (3) should appear as an inherent part of a world-design, to whose accomplishment it contributes with the power of its own concrete nature.

To illustrate: architecture, an objective art, exhibits (1) the realm of universal laws, through the heavy weight of her forms; (2) the concrete actuality, through the peculiar style which may be defined as a consistently maintained transition from one element of construction to another one, or from the support to the load; (3) the world-design, through the presentation of an organism having perspicuous unity. Music as a subjective art exhibits the realm of universal laws through rhythm, concrete actuality through melody, the world-design through harmony. As

[3] Omnis art naturae imitatio est. *Ep.* 65, 3. *Phaedon,* 67 A.

[4] Lotze, *Grundzüge der Ästhetik,* §§ 18, 23; also Zweiter Haupttheil.

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the general forms of intuition—space, time, and causality—deal with the objective world, we may consider actuality a subjective idea and recognize in the entirety of world-events the completion of the triad.

And now, which qualities of the individual piece of art reveal the conditions under which it is a piece of art?[5] (1) Proper and honest material in which the idea of the beautiful is approached and through which it is embodied. Händel's Largo performed on the bag-pipe leaves the composer's idea untouched, but does not attempt to approach it; the presentation in architecture of a material pretending to be what it is not injures the true artistic value of a structure; the language in which the song of a hoodlum is written minimizes the poem's aesthetic effect. We may call the quality necessary to satisfy the objective condition of a piece of art, elevation of material.—(2) Proportion of parts to correspond to concrete actuality. The Attica of St. Peter, the length of Schubert's Symphonies and of Tasso's *Gerusalemma Liberata* are cases in point.—(3) Repose resulting from the synthesis of elevation and proportion may be the quality of a piece of art to satisfy the condition of the beautiful. It is an essential part of the world-design, a quality rarely attained by artists, and constitutionally present only in the master-pieces of the greatest of them.

With the help of these three re-agents we may establish the comparative value of art productions, especially those of the art of poetry, the world's literature. The harmonious presence of elevation, proportion, and repose in an author's life-work that embraces in itself the entire culture of his time has been so rare that we ascribe it justly to genius, to inspired seership which frees the soul from the limitations of nationality and language, leaves the best of his creations as standards, and even sheds a lustre over the entire literature of his language. If criticism is an art which applies

[5] Bayard Taylor, *Studies in German Literature;* N. Y.: 1879, p. 202.

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principles and renders judgment based on principles, Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, and Goethe must be considered world-poets who mark the mile-stones of the path of our culture.

I do not know on what principles St. Augustine had the sacred books of the early Christians canonized regardless of the Homologumena and the Antilegomena of Eusebius of Caesarea. His philosophical training, however, is so well attested that we have no reason to believe that his choice was made without a sufficiently valid basis. Since Shakespeare a longer time has elapsed than that which separated the bishop of Hippo from the end of the second century, which seems to have been the time of the close of the early Christian literature; thus there is warrant for advancing a canon of Homologumena, which may be a fortress opposed to the unbridled imagination of the Manichean.

I maintain that the canon of elevation, proportion, and repose will enable us to establish the Homologumena more easily than we have hitherto imagined; at least an attempt should be made to submit them to general consideration and await the final judgment of those who are entitled to judge.

Let us begin with the Homologumena: the Psalms (not all of them); almost all of the Iliad and the Odyssey; Dante's Inferno; Shakespeare's Macbeth, King Lear, Hamlet; Goethe's Iphigenie, Faust (not all of both parts). I do not think that much can be removed from this structure. Antilegomena may be among the following: Aeschylus' Prometheus; Sophocles' Antigone; Aristophanes' Birds; Cervantes' Don Quixote (not all of it); Milton's Paradise Lost (the first two books); Molière's Le Misanthrope, L'Avare, Tartuffe; Lessing's Nathan der Weise.

These biblia make a βίβλος of poetry with probably less words than our Bible; and with all reverence be it said they may not be unworthy of being placed beside the Bible.

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They should not be neglected in our higher instruction as we to our sorrow neglect the book which is the most precious of all books, not only for its wealth of comfort and wisdom and holiness, but also on account of the inexhaustible mine of the purest diction it has offered our race.

I plead for a return to first principles in the study of art. To see beautiful things and hear mighty words again and again before you talk or write about them is such a matter of course that it seems ridiculous to lay stress on it. Yet how sadly have we failed in this first requirement. From the habit of memorizing too much, the pendulum of educational theory and practice has swung back to the other extreme of learning little or nothing by heart. We do not emphasize the Logos revealed in the prophetic utterances of the mightiest spirits. We do not make their words an ever present treasure from which the student may derive comfort in all the sorrows of life and strength in its still more trying situations of surpassing fortune. Instead of this, our immediate duty, we attempt to convince our students by arguments of the beauty of things which need no interpretation other than their actuality. Our present Goethe-philology clouds the sweetness and light of the author's genius.

I think it was John Stuart Blackie who said that the entrance fee which is exacted at the wicket gate which leads to the field of literature is barely more than the ability to spell words. All other domains of human knowledge require a well defined amount of preparatory studies before one can proceed. To literature alone we bring hardly acquaintance with, not knowledge of, the necessary requisites. Some of the greatest monuments of the art of all arts ought to be our mental property before we attempt to proceed. The Prussian schools still require their scholars to be able to recite a definite number of the great hymns of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Our intermediate schools in America make their scholars parse and analyze our great poems, and repeat traditional criti-

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cisms concerning them, until all their beauty has been driven out by main force. Raphael's Madonna Sistina need not be discussed; she need only be seen, but repeatedly seen, by those who have the organ of recognizing the beautiful; and the greatest productions of the poetic art must be heard again and again before their beauty becomes a part of our soul.

There are canonical books and they must not only *have been* read, but must be read again and again, so that we may derive comfort and renewed strength from them, as we do from a beloved face painted by Albrecht Dürer or Hans Holbein or Rembrandt or Van Dyke or Sir Joshua Reynolds.

And different from the other arts, poetry is able to gain an additional charm if reflected on the cultured mind of an inspired teacher. Hermann Grimm wished his students to see the beauty of Greek life reflected on the mind of Goethe; no less do we see Goethe's life-work reflected on the intense soul of Hermann Grimm.

Before this assembly I need not state my conviction that without the knowledge of the originals the critical teacher of the world's literature will be in the same deplorable condition as the musician who knows Beethoven's Fifth Symphony merely through its arrangement for the piano. The Greek *πειθώ* depended to a great extent upon the word-melody of the language, while our habit of reading with the eye and not listening with the ear seems to have atrophied our faculty for perceiving the music of the living word. But there is more than that in the loss of the harmonious over- and undertone meanings of the original with their subconscious influence upon the reader, a loss which not even the best translation can avoid. At least at some time in his past the teacher should have been impressed by the exquisite cadences of the original.

It may not be amiss to quote here a passage from Martin Luther's *Epistle An die Burgermeister und Radherrn allerley Stedte ynn Deutschen landen* (1524):[6] "Now the

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interpretation of the Fathers who have handled Scripture without knowing the languages (although they do not teach anything wrong) has been such as to cause them to use very often uncertain, inadequate, and improper language; like blind men they knock themselves against a wall, miss the right meaning, and turn the text as they please * * * so that St. Augustine himself is forced to confess that a Christian teacher who is to interpret the Bible must needs know not only the Latin, but also the Greek and Hebrew languages. * * * It is a totally different thing whether we speak of a mere preacher of the Faith or of an interpreter of Holy Writ whom St. Paul calls a prophet. A mere preacher has so many plain sayings and has so much plain text interpreted for him that he is able to understand Christ, can teach and live a sacred life and preach to the people. But he is not able to interpret the Gospel, to act independently and to fight against mistaken expounders of the Writ; such things cannot be done without knowledge of the languages."

To conclude, I maintain that the cultural experience of our race has reverted to a number of poetic productions which by their surpassing value have become canonical, and that it is possible to unite upon a number of them in the same manner as the Fathers established their Homologumena. It is urged, therefore, that a beginning be made of a Canon of the World's Literature to be adopted by the American Universities of the Association in order that their graduates who are to become teachers of one or more of the literatures of the principal European languages may be held to a thorough acquaintance with all the masterpieces contained in the canon.

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[6] *D. Martin Luther's Werke. Kritische Gesammtausgabe*, 15. Bd., p. 40, l. 3 ff; Weimar: 1899.

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BROWNE'S *BRITANNIA'S PASTORALS* AND SPENSER'S *FAËRIE QUEENE.*

HERBERT E. CORY.

Certain of the early Spenserians, "well-languaged Daniel," the sensitive Barnefield, Rous with his boyish high dreams of chivalry, might be classed as the Gawains of poetry, golden-tongued, courtly, rather passionless and languid, like the garrulous knights of Chretien's leisurely narratives. By way of contrast the group of Drayton seems to constitute the yeomanry of song, bending good English yew instead of Cupid's graceful bow. William Browne, Wither, Davies of Hereford, are not the members of a school of Drayton; they are his friends, influenced it is true by his dominating power, but appearing rather to share his ideas than to follow his lead. They loved the very soil of Merry England, and mostly chose to naturalize the creatures of their fancy in their own tangible fatherland, not in the realms of Faërie. Theirs was the spirit of the young American poet, Drake, who strove audaciously to people the majestic scenery of his country with the beings of Old World legend. Drayton and Browne made their favorite rivers haunted by little fairy-folk, with all the homely conviction of English peasants. Nymphs clasped hands with pretty peasant girls and danced around May-poles. The sombre Davies of Hereford, more partial to Spenser's allegorical personages, took them from Fairy-land and placed them in the narrow streets and taverns of his beloved London. Like

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the sturdy authors of Piers Plowman he made his allegorical Vices more tangible by an infusion of the coarse blood of London topers and rakes.

It is probable that Drayton loved none of his poet friends more than the kindred-spirit William Browne. And his love was accompanied by an admiration that took shape in more than one eulogy of his friend's genius.[1] Nor was Browne tardy in his eloquent praise of Drayton's poetry.[2] Browne indeed was the more pliant soul, and the influence of his friend's *Poly-Olbion* often met with that of the *Faërie Queene,* like the rivers which the three poets loved to describe, and flowed on with more sweetness and majesty. But Browne was troubled by no audacious desire to enclose a bird's-eye view of all England in the ponderous tomes of an impossible epic. His humbler muse, except when stimulated to a purely artificial flight by a memory of the colossal limbs of the *Poly-Olbion,* was content to sing forever of his own river, the Tavy, a devotion which is charmingly rewarded, it is said, by the veneration of the Devonshire folk to this very day.

As for the influence of his supreme master Spenser, Browne's own verses in *Fido: An Epistle to Fidelia,* are worth paragraphs of comment.

> "Sitting one day beside a silver brook,
> Whose sleepy waves unwillingly forsook
> The strict embraces of the flow'ry shore,
> As loathe to leave what they should see no more:
> I read (as fate had turn'd it to my hand)
> Among the famous lays of fairy land,
> Belphoebe's fond mistrust, whenas she met
> Her gentle Squire with lovely Amoret.[3]
> And laying by the book, Poor lad, quoth I,

[1] See Drayton's *To his Friend the Author* prefixed to the first three books of *Britannia's Pastorals; Epistle to Henry Reynolds; Of Poets and Poesy,* etc.

[2] See Browne's *An Ode,* beginning: "Awake fair Muse," and *To My Honoured Friend Mr. Drayton* prefixed to the second part of *Poly-Olbion,* etc.

[3] *Faërie Queene,* Bk. IV, Canto vii, Stanzas 35 ff.

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Must all thy joys, like Eve's posterity,
Receive a doom, not to be chang'd by suit,
Only for tasting the forbidden fruit?
Had fair Belphoebe licens'd thee sometime
To kiss her cherry lip, thou didst a crime;
But since she for thy thirst no help would bring,
Thou lawfully might'st seek another spring;
And had those kisses stol'n been melting sips,
Ta'en by consent from Amoret's sweet lips,
Thou might'st have answer'd, if thy love had spied,
How others gladly gave what she denied;
But since they were not such, it did approve
A jealousy not meriting thy love,
And an injustice offer'd by the maid
In giving judgment ere she heard thee plead.
I have a Love (and then I thought of you,
As heaven can witness I each minute do),
So well assur'd of that once promis'd faith
Which my unmoved Love still cherisheth,
* * * * * * * * * * *
I surely could believe, nay, I durst swear,
That your sweet goodness would not stoop to fear.
* * * * * * * * * * *
Such were my thoughts of you, and thinking so,
* * * * * * * * * * *
I in security was further gone,
* * * * * * * * * * *
When thus I thought, and when your letters came.
But, oh, how far I err'd, how much deceiv'd
Was my belief!''

History does not tell us whether Browne's mistress was duly repentant for having knocked a few stars out of her poet's heaven. But it is to be feared that the high ideals which Browne often derived from ruminating over some choice morsel of the *Faërie Queene* were frequently battered by the work-a-day world even in the Arcadia that was reigned over by the good Queen Bess and by James the First, Apprentice in the Divine Art of Poesy. But whatever the bluff man-in-the-street may have said to Browne, this poem typifies his steadfast attitude toward Spenser and toward life. By some appropriate leisurely brook he read and re-read the *Faërie Queene*. He vivified the characters of

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Spenser's poem and was doubtless forever giving them new speeches and actions—what might have been—as he gave Timias a new answer to Belphoebe. The *Faërie Queene* was Scripture wherewith to make love. And perhaps if he had been a husbandman he would have somehow derived from the same source practical precepts for farming. For his best known work, *Britannia's Pastorals,* he imported scenes, characters, and episodes from the *Faërie Queene* into Devonshire. He pillaged more widely than Drayton, searching every page of his model with the industry of a bee. Like Drayton he was hopelessly irresponsible. But the formlessness of the *Poly-Olbion* is due to its poet's sturdy temperament, goading him to gigantic attempts. Browne lacked this largeness. The formlessness of the *Britannia's Pastorals* is due to his gentle meditative spirit which led him to seek winding paths and lose his way, to make digressions which never end, similes within similes ever becoming less and less apt.

The story of the loves and sorrows of Marina seems to have been intended as the main plot of *Britannia's Pastorals,* if any plot at all was seriously intended. It has never before been noted that Browne's choice of a model was evidently the story of Florimel in the *Faërie Queene.* The choice is thoroughly characteristic. For the tangled and heart-rending adventures of Florimel ruined the form of Spenser's poem; her entrance is the signal for the whole structure to come tumbling about our ears. Browne's Marina begins her destructive work in the first lines. Both Marina and Florimel are in love with unresponsive youths. Both are carried off in a boat by villains who attempt to ravish them. Marina is saved by a storm, Florimel by Proteus. Both at certain times in their unfortunate careers are forced to take refuge in forests in the abodes of witches. Marina is imprisoned in a cave by Famine, a very Spenserian figure. The dreadful tarn is adorned in the Spenserian manner with appropriate paintings, the seige of Jerusalem, Hagar in the wilderness, which Browne describes with

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unexpected realism and grim power. Florimel is held captive in a cave also, but by Proteus. Her laments are overheard by Marinell who appeals to his mother, the nymph Cymodoce, for her rescue. Cymodoce obtains Florimel's release by an appeal to Neptune. Similarly Marina, lamenting in the cave of Famine, is overheard by Thetis who obtains her freedom by an appeal to Triton. Both poets frequently leave their heroines in dire distress while they pursue the fortunes of their other characters. Both are liberal and ludicrous in the clamorous laments which prelude their returns to the languishing maidens.[4]

Spenser's allegory had a considerable influence over the *Britannia's Pastorals*. The minor poet's limitations as an allegorist may be easily guessed from the foregoing paragraphs. Allegory was hardly native to his genius and was doubtless due entirely to artificial influences. In Spenser, at his best, it gave form to his poem. In Browne it was episodic, detached, out of keeping with the general nature of his works. Famine, who carries off Marina, has nothing but his name and the pictures in his cave to commend him as allegory. His actions are not significant or in character. Browne's most beautiful and successful episode is Aletheia's or Truth's adventure outside a monastery.[5] She tells how:

> "In winter's time, when hardly fed the flocks,
> And icicles hung dangling on the rocks;
> * * * * * * * * * *
> When every barn rung with the threshing flails
> And shepherds' boys for cold gan blow their nails:[6]

[4] *Cf.* Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals*, Bk. II, Song iii, ll. 1 ff.:

> "Alas that I have done so great a wrong
> Unto the fairest maiden of my song,
> Divine Marina," etc.

And *F. Q.*, IV, xi, 1:

> "But ah for pittie that I have thus long
> Left a fayre ladie languishing in payne!
> Now well away! that I have doen such wrong,
> To let faire Florimell in bands remayne."

[5] *Britannia's Pastorals*, Bk. I, iv, 395 ff.

[6] It is interesting to note the charming echo of Shakespeare's song in *Love's Labour Lost*: "When icicles hang by the wall."

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It was my chance (chance only helpeth need)
To find an house ybuilt for holy deed,
With goodly architect, and cloisters wide,
With groves and walks along a river's side;
The place itself afforded admiration,
And every spray a theme of contemplation.
But (woe is me!) when knocking at the gate
I gan entreat an enterance thereat:
The porter ask'd my name: I told; he swell'd,
And bade me thence: wherewith in grief repell'd
I sought for shelter to a ruin'd house,
Harb'ring the weasel, and the dust-bred mouse;
And others none except the two-kind bat,
Which all the day there melancholy sat:
* * * * * * * * * * *
Yet Idleness I saw (lam'd with the gout)[7]
Had entrance when poor Truth was kept without.
There saw I Drunkenness with dropsies swoll'n;
And pamper'd Lust, that many a night had stol'n
Over the abbey-wall when gates were lock'd,
To be in Venus' wanton bosom rock'd;
And Gluttony, that surfeiting had been,
Knock at the gate and straightway taken in;
Sadly I sat, and sighing, griev'd to see
Their happiness, my infelicity,
At last came Envy by, who, having spied
Where I was sadly seated, inward hied,
And to the convent eagerly she cries,
Why sit you here, when with these ears and eyes
I heard and saw a strumpet dares to say
She is the true fair Aletheia,
Which you have boasted long to live among you
Yet suffer not a peevish girl to wrong you?
With this provok'd, all rose, and in a rout
Ran to the gate, strove who should first get out,
Bade me begone, and then (in terms uncivil)
Did call me counterfeit, witch, hag, whore, devil:
Then like a strumpet drove me from their cells,
With tinkling pans and with the noise of bells.
And he that lov'd me, or but moan'd my case,
Had heaps of firebrands branded at his face."

[7] The personifications of the Sins which follow owe their immediate suggestion to the *F. Q.*, I, iv, 18 ff. Aletheia is modeled upon Una (Truth) and the episode treated below (Riot and Aletheia) is imitated from the Faërie Queene, Bk. I, *passim*, as we shall see.

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No other allegorical picture in the *Britannia's Pastorals* is as well-wrought, sustained, and powerful as this. Browne's most ambitious attempt of this sort is an elaborate redaction of several episodes of the first book of the *Faërie Queene*. Aletheia, after long wandering,[8] is cared for by Idya.[9] Aletheia and Fida[10] are seen by Riot[11] who has been a mere savage, but who is impelled to follow them.[12] He is thus lead up arduous heights to the House of Repentance, as Una leads her Red Cross Knight to the House of Holiness.[13] Remembrance is the portress.[14] Remorse fetters Riot in chains and tortures him.[15] Riot then crawls to the postern and finds two paths, one up a hill, "Repentance way" and a headlong path to Despair, the apparition who also tempts the Red Cross Knight before he arrives at the House of Holiness.[16] Riot is tempted to go downward

> Where certain Death liv'd in an ebon chair,
> The soul's black homicide, meagre Despair
> Had his abode and there 'gainst craggy rocks
> Some dashed their brains out with relentless knocks;
> Others on trees (O most accursed elves)
> Are fastening knots, so to undo themselves.[17]

[8] Compare the long wandering of the abandoned Una in the *F. Q.*, I.

[9] Idya is Charity. *Cf.* Spenser's Carissa, Bk. I, x.

[10] Faith; *cf.* Spenser's Fidelia, Bk. I. x.

[11] Riot will be seen to owe part of his existence to the Red Cross Knight, who falls into riotous ways, undergoes penance, conquers Despair, and finally marries Truth. *F. Q.*, I.

[12] *Britannia's Pastorals*, I, v, 425 ff.

[13] *F. Q.*, I, x.

[14] In Spenser, Humilita is porter. And in Browne Humblessa appears later and leads Riot to Repentance herself.

[15] *Cf. F. Q.*, I, x, 27:

> And bitter Penaunce with an.yron whip,
> Was wont him once to disple every day:
> And sharp Remorse his hart did prick and nip,
> That drops of blood thence like a well did play;
> And sad Repentance used to embay
> His blameful body in salt water sore——.

[16] *F. Q.*, I, ix, 33 ff.

[17] So Spenser's Despair lives in a rocky den, where many have hung themselves, and offers the Red Cross Knight a rope or a rusty knife.

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A voice warns Riot, as Una saves the Red Cross Knight, from slaying himself at Despair's words. Riot then chooses the path to Repentance. Here Browne begins to grow restive under the restriction of allegory. He pours out three pages of charming but inappropriate similes illustrative of Riot's painful ascent. Riot is like a maid learning music of her mother, like a melancholy angler, like a nimble squirrel. Riot attains the summit and the allegory breaks down when the convert becomes Amintas, a beautiful youth, and falls in love with Aletheia. Then Browne, freed from his unwonted impediments, sings with all his choicest felicity:

——Never man before
More bless'd, nor like this kiss hath been another
But when two dangling cherries kiss each other;
Nor ever beauties, like, met at such closes,
But in the kisses of two damask roses.

Browne was at his best when he wandered less far from the banks of the Tavy. Here, safe in the shade of the overhanging trees he could pipe dainty variations on a Spenserian theme or imitate his master's more idyllic passages. Browne's business was not with matters of high seriousness, but with a "merry milkmaid, neat and fine," little brothers who search hedges for a thrush's nest and are pursued by a bull, the minute details of squirrels' lives. When he wrote about these his poetry was incomparable. When he wrote about the fairies and all their tiny doings he shared the exquisite fancy-play of Shakespeare, Drayton, and Herrick. It is suggestive to watch Browne's quaint and innocent fancy at work on a Spenserian lament for the Golden Age:

Happy ye days of old, when every waste
Was like a sanctuary to the chaste;
When incests, rapes, adulteries, were not known;
All pure as blossoms which are newly blown
* * * * * * * * * * *
Maidens with men as sisters with their brothers,
And men with maids convers'd as with their mothers;
Free from suspicion, or the rage of blood.
Strife only reign'd, for all striv'd to be good.

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It is not any verbal echo,[18] but the dainty variation which Browne plays on a Spenserian theme which I wish to emphasize. For he prattles delightfully on:

> But then as little wrens but newly fledge,
> First, by their nests hop up and down the hedge;
> Then one from bough to bough gets up a tree:
> His fellow noting his agility,
> Thinks he as well may venture as the other,
> So flushing from one spray unto another
> Gets to the top, and then embolden'd flies,
> Unto an height past ken of human eyes:
> So time brought worse——.

So Browne ushers in the degenerate days of lust, enlarging on a Spenserian text with a simile, exquisite in itself, but of questionable aptness.

Huntresses like Spenser's Belphoebe are as much at home by the Tavy as in fairy-land.

> Remond and Doridon were turning then
> Unto the most disconsolate of men,
> But that a gallant dame, fair as the morn
> Or lovely blooms the peach-tree that adorn,
> Clad in a changing silk, whose lustre shone
> Like yellow flowers and grass far off in one,
> Or like the mixture Nature doth display
> Upon the quaint wings of the popinjay:
> Her horn about her neck with silver tip,
> Too hard a metal for so soft a lip.
>
> * * * * * * * * * * *
> An ivory dart she held of good command,
> White was the bone but whiter was her hand;
> * * * * * * * * * * *

[18] *Britannia's Pastorals*, Bk. I, iv, 1 ff. For a similar strain in Spenser (not a parallel passage) see *F. Q.*, IV, viii, 30 ff.:

> But antique age, yet in the infancie
> Of time, did live then like an innocent,
> In simple truth and blameless chastitie,
> Ne then of guile had made experiment.
> * * * * * * * * * * *
> Then beautie, which was made to represent
> The great Creatours owne resemblance bright,
> Unto abuse of lawless lust was bent,
> And made the baite of bestiall delight:
> Then faire grew foule, and foule grew faire in sight.

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Upon her head a green light silken cap:
A piece of white lawn shadowed either pap,
Between which hillocks many Cupids lay,
Whilst her quick heart will not with them dispense,
But heaves her breasts as it would beat them thence:
Who, fearing much to lose so sweet repair,
Take faster hold by her dishevell'd hair.
Swiftly she ran; the sweet briars to receive her
Slipp'd their embracements, and (as loath to leave her)
Stretch'd themselves to their length; yet on she goes.[19]

Here too gather many nymphs and maidens like those in Spenser's *Prothalamion* to celebrate happy weddings.

As I have seen upon a bridal day
Full many maids clad in their best array,
In honor of the bride come with their flaskets
Fill'd full with flowers: others in wicker-baskets
Bring from the marish rushes to o'erspread
The ground whereon to church the lovers tread;
* * * * * * * * * * *
Triton came up a channel with his mirth
And called the neighboring nymphs each in her turn
To pour their pretty rivulets from their urn.
Some running through the meadows, with them bring
Cowslip and mint: and 'tis another's lot
To light upon some gard'ner's curious knot,
Whence she upon her breast (love's sweet repose)
Doth bring the queen of flowers, the English rose.[20]

Here the Tavy and the Walla, like the rivers of Drayton and Spenser, pursue their love-affairs. Although Browne

[19] *Britannia's Pastorals*, II, ii, 785 ff. *Cf. F. Q.*, II, iii, 21 ff. for many close similarities.

[20] *Britannia's Pastorals*, III, iv, 664 ff. *Cf. Prothalamion*, 19 ff.:
There, in a meadow, by the river's side,
A Flocke of Nymphes I chaunced to espy,
* * * * * * * * * * *
And each one had a little wicker basket,
Made of fine twigs, entrayled curiously,
In which they gathered flowers to fill their flasket.
* * * * * * * * * * *
Of every sort which in that Meadow grew,
They gathered some; the Violet, pallid blew,
The little Daize, that at evening closes,
* * * * * * * * * * *
With store of vermeil Roses, etc.

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was a close observer of nature he often chose to transplant Spenser's miraculous groves to the banks of the Tavy. If we are in a funereal mood we need not go far before we enter a grove where:

> In order grew such trees as do adorn
> The sable hearse and sad forsaken mate,
> And trees whose tears their loss commiserate.
> Such as the cypress, and the weeping myrrh,
> The dropping amber, and the refin'd fir,
> The bleeding vine, the wat'ry sycamore.
> And willow for the forlorn paramour.[21]

Browne's dependence on Spenser and his irresponsibility are easy to criticise. Few readers turn to him to-day with that pleasure that sent the youthful Keats again and again to his pages, by no means for the worse (in spite of the faults of *Endymion*), but for the essential nourishment of a callow poet. It is certainly more profitable to try to appreciate the delicate tinge of Browne's inimitable charm than to use him for feeble proof that we have a sense of humour. The mild poet was generally more pleased to sound rapturously the praises of Colin Clout[22] than to sing the notes of his own defense very seriously. But he wrote one characteristic apologia:

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[21] *Britannia's Pastorals*, I, iv, 671 ff. *Cf. F. Q.*, I, i, 7 ff.: "The Cypresse funerall," "The Mirrhe sweete bleeding in the bitter wound," "The Willow, worne of forlorne Paramours." We may here pause to notice another Spenserian grove in *Britannia's Pastorals*, Book I, Song II, 325 ff. I quote a few of the similar phrases:

B: "The amorous vine, which in the elm still weaves";
Sp: "The vine-propp Elme";
B: "The warlike yew, by which (more than the lance)
The strong-arm'd English spirits conquer'd France";
Sp: "The Eugh obedient to the bender's will";
B: "The fir, that oftentimes doth rosin drop";
Sp: "The Firre that weepeth still."

These parallels throw a clear light on Browne's style. As might be expected Browne expands Spenser's two stanzas into two pages.

[22] *Britannia's Pastorals*, I, iii, 179-184; II, i, 981-1026; etc.

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Yet as when I with other swains have been
Invited by the maidens of our green
To wend to yonder wood, in time of year
When cherry-trees enticing burdens bear,
He that with wreathed legs doth upwards go,
Plucks not alone for those who stand below;
But now and then is seen to pick a few
To please himself as well as all his crew:
Or if from where he is he do espy
Some apricock upon a bough thereby,
Which overhangs the tree on which he stands,
Climbs up and strives to take it with his hands:
So if to please myself I somewhat sing,
Let it not be to you less pleasuring.
No thirst of glory tempts me: for my strains
Befit poor shepherds on the lowly plains;
The hope of riches cannot draw from me
One line that tends to servile flattery.
* * * * * * * * * * *
My freeborn Muse will not like Danae be,
Won with base dross to clip with slavery;
Nor lend her choicer balm to worthless men,
Whose names would die but for some hired pen.
No; if I praise, virtue shall draw me to it,
And not a base procurement make me do it.
What now I sing is but to pass away
A tedious hour, as some musicians play;
* * * * * * * * * * *
In this can I as oft as I will choose,
Hug sweet content by my retired Muse,
And in a study find as much to please
As others in the greatest palaces.
* * * * * * * * * * *
And Time may be so kind in these weak lines
To keep my name enroll'd past his that shines
In gilded marble, or in brazen leaves:
Since verse preserves, when stone and brass deceives.
Or if (as worthless) Time not lets it live
To those full days which others' Muses give,
Yet I am sure I shall be heard and sung
Of most severest eld and kinder young
Beyond my days; and maugre Envy's strife,
Add to my name some hours beyond my life.[28]

[28] *Britannia's Pastorals*, II, iv, 137 ff.

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CHARTER DAY ADDRESS

BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER

Friends of the University of California
and Members thereof:

It has been my usage on Charter Day to say something regarding the status of the University, particularly its financial status. It is my pleasure to-day to be able to announce a number of private gifts. The University has been fortunate in having friends. It has never been dependent solely upon the bounty of the state. During long years it has suffered a pitiful poverty. If it is great it has become great through its poverty. But there were friends who believed in it even though it was pitifully poor. During the last two years we have entertained the hope that a day was coming when by the gradual increase in the taxable property of the state this University sharing in the state's prosperity might rise unto sufficiency. The unfortunate situation created by a change in our system of taxation for the support of the state threatens, however, to deprive the University of its greatest bounty, its connection with the prosperity of the state. As yet no device has been found whereby the established usage of giving the University two cents or three cents on the hundred dollars of assessed valuation can be continued, and the peril is that the University may be unfortunately at this session of the legislature permanently separated in its support from the

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life and wealth of the state. This would be a pain and a peril. And this is the fact though the legislature now in session has shown in every way the most cordial feeling toward the University—shown it, expressed it, and shown it again.

We have every reason to be thankful for the spirit of loyalty that the state has developed towards the University. The Regents of the University constitute a trust of the state for the performance of a certain work; that work is the maintenance of the University, of research and higher education. The Board of Regents of the University of California as a trust represent a phase of the state. The University of California is a phase of the state. It is not localized at one place. It conducts endeavors in higher learning and in research at Davis, in the City of San Francisco, on the top of Mount Hamilton, at Whittier in Southern California, and at Los Angeles in the form of a medical school. The University of California is a phase of the state; it is the state when the state addresses itself to a certain line of action. We recognize that there are needs in parts of the state other than here, and I trust that during the next two years opportunity will be found to investigate what the demands of different sections of the state for university equipment may be. I trust that will be done in a spirit of breadth, regarding other sections of the state and the large and highly differentiated needs of a wide stretching state embracing many communities and various conditions.

The University of California is represented by its Board of Regents; that board should be representative of all sections of the state distributed according to the interests which exist in different parts of the state.

The University of California is a phase of the state. A modern state of the western type cannot exist without its state university. The State University undertakes to solve problems for the state. It expects to have problems laid at its door, it expects to assume tasks, it is here for the

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service of the people of California in the matters pertaining to a university. It has, however, as I said at the beginning, had many friends, and friends who were glad to devote of their substance to its support. Larger ideals of the University have thus been met and fulfilled. We should not be able, to take a single illustration, to maintain the Lick Observatory at its present standard of efficiency had it not been for the wise foresight of James Lick in giving the Observatory for public uses. We should not be able to maintain instruction in economics and commerce at the standard at which we now maintain it, the highest known of anywhere, were it not for the beneficence of Miss Flood, whose endowment the school of commerce is.

I cannot rehearse the many gifts that this University has received; I may only speak of a few of the most recent ones within this year. I cannot give them all. There are three times as many on record as I shall read here to-day. I single out the typical ones.

The Knights of St. Patrick, giving an annual provision of $100 for the purchase of books in Gaelic literature for the university library.

The Native Sons of California, to show that they love the state in all its regards and do not exist for other than the highest purposes, have arranged to give $1,500 each year for the maintenance of a traveling fellowship in Pacific Coast history.

Albert Sidney Johnson Chapter 79 of the Daughters of the Confederacy, has given $3,500 for the endowment of a memorial scholarship.

Mrs. Willard B. Rising has given her husband's library of chemical books.

Mrs. Denicke provides a supplement to the income of her husband's library fund.

Mrs. William H. Crocker gives $1,500 for books for the use of the departments of pathology and physiology.

Mrs. Hearst has just given among other things $1,000 for the purchase of certain Spanish manuscripts, $1,000

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for the publications of the Lick Observatory, $1,680 for anthropological research during this year, $2,250 for enlargement of the mining building, and a swimming-pool for the use of the exiles on top of Mount Hamilton, at the Lick Observatory.

The Class of 1900 has given $1,000 for a bridge to be built across Strawberry Creek opposite East Hall.

The Class of 1905 has provided a marble seat which within the last few days has been placed on the grounds of the lower campus, near the football statue.

The Class of 1882 has provided a seat on the Upper Campus in the neighborhood of the botanical building.

The Class of 1895 has turned in a loan fund approximating $500. You cannot tell how much good these loan funds do; you cannot tell unless you have been in the President's office and seen needs satisfied by a petty loan of $50. There have been students able to graduate simply by obtaining the loan of $50 to tide them over the last few weeks of the Senior Year. The money has been repaid always within the next few months.

Horace Whitaker has given 320 acres of big tree land which we are saving for the use of a department of forestry which we hope we will have.

Miss Annie M. Alexander has provided the means for that perfectly marvelous collection of vertebrate zoology which is now being stored in the museum near the football field. Miss Alexander had promised to give $7,000 a year for bringing about that collection; this past year she has given, as the figures show, exactly $12,600. She had agreed, as I said, to give $7,000 each year for seven years for the completion of that collection; but thus far she has about doubled the amount each year. We like to have agreements kept in that form.

Mrs. Frances B. Sanborn has given $1,500 to found three Sheffield-Sanborn scholarships.

Mr. W. W. Jones has contributed his entire Herbarium to the botanical herbarium.

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The Mills Estate, through Mr. Ogden Mills, has given $15,000 for the continuance of investigation work in the skies of the Southern Hemisphere, and $2,700 for work at the Lick Observatory.

Mrs. Martin Kellogg has given $20,000 for the establishment of fellowships at the Lick Observatory in memory of her husband, Martin Kellogg, the former President of this University.

Eugene Meyer, former student, has just sent in $2,000 as a library fund for the purchase of books in history. He remembered us even though he is in New York.

Miss Carrie M. Jones left a bequest of $100,000 for scholarships. That was a contribution to you from Los Angeles.

Mr. Truxton Beale, recently appointed Regent, has offered $1,000 in prizes for essays on Tolstoi's book "What is to be done."

A friend has given $1,000 toward an administrative salary.

Mr. James K. Moffitt has given a library donation of $1,000.

Mr. William H. Crocker, apparatus for special research at the Lick Observatory.

The Estate of Alexander Agassiz has given for zoological research, or the continuance of work—Mr. Agassiz began the same during the past year,—$1,300.

A bequest from A. Hamerslag of a loan fund of $6,000.

We have received also by the will of Mrs. Jennie D. Thompson of Utah the Willard D. Thompson Scholarships endowed with $50,000. This will support six students from the State of Utah. Her boy came from Utah, was a student here; he died and she has left this fine memorial to him.

Mrs. Jane K. Sather has made provision recently for a bell-tower or campanile to be placed not far from where the flag pole now is and to cost $125,000 and upwards.

We are just entering Boalt Hall, which has been erected in memory of a distinguished member of the bar of this

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state, Judge Boalt, by his wife and by the lawyers of the state at a cost of $150,000.

Next August we shall enter the Charles F. Doe Memorial Library building, which has been built with money left by Mr. Charles F. Doe to an amount somewhere over $800,000 and equipped by funds of the state.

These are illustrations of the fact that the University of California is so warmly imbedded now in the conscience of this state that nobody knows whether money is private or public that comes in here; public interest and private interest vie with each other to support this University, for it is serving all causes alike, whether private or public. First of all it is serving the purpose of this state and its people more and more every year, more intimately, more closely in adaptation to the need. This institution opening its gates to the sons and daughters of California stands pre-eminently to serve, to serve, to serve.

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UNIVERSITY RECORD.

ALBERT H. ALLEN.

REGENTS AND FACULTY

APPOINTMENTS FOR 1911-12

At the meeting of the Regents held April 12, 1911, the following new appointments were made for the next Academic year, to go into effect July 1.

Herbert E. Bolton, now of Stanford University, Professor of American History; F. Wilmsen, Associate Professor of French and German; J. T. Gerig, Associate Professor of French, and of Celtic Philology; J. G. Fitzgerald, Associate Professor of Bacteriology; A. U. Pope, Assistant Professor of Philosophy.

C. J. Lewis, Instructor in Philosophy; Frank Irwin and Thomas Buck, Instructors in Mathematics; C. L. Baker, Instructor in Mineralogy and Geology (first half-year); D. W. Morehouse, Instructor in Astronomy; Dr. Romilda Paroni, Lecturer in Hygiene and Medical Examiner; T. J. Wrampelmeier, Lecturer in Technical Chemistry; Dr. Eugene S. Kilgore, Medical Examiner; Noris Hovey, Purchasing Agent.

Sophia Levy, Watson Assistant in Astronomy; Ruby L. Cunningham, Assistant in Anatomy; Carleton B. Joeckel, Assistant Reference Librarian; Edith M. Coulter and Edna L. Goss, Senior Assistants in the University Library (the latter from April 15, 1911); Rosamund Parma, Librarian and Clerk in the Department of Jurisprudence; J. C. Hall, Assistant in Bacteriology; C. S. Bennett, Assistant in Physiological Chemistry; C. G. Steinitz, Assistant Mechanician in the Department of Physics; H. E. Rudee, Assistant Demonstrator in Clinical Dentistry; Stanley L. Dod, Reader in Dental Pathology and Therapeutics.

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Promotions and Changes

Bernard Moses, Professor of History and Political Science, has been granted the honor of retirement as Professor Emeritus after thirty-six years of service in the University.

Professor Moses graduated from the University of Michigan in 1870, and received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Heidelberg in 1873. The University of Michigan conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D. in 1902. He was Professor of History in Albion College, 1875-6, and came to the University of California in 1876 as Professor of History and Political Economy. In 1900 he was appointed a member of the Philippine Commission by President McKinley, the other members being Judge Henry C. Ide and Judge, now President, William H. Taft. He returned to the University in 1903 as Professor of History and Political Science, was absent on leave in 1906-07 for an extended visit to South America, and again in 1908-09 as a delegate to the Pan-American Scientific Congress held in Santiago.

Professor Moses has long been a student of South American history and institutions, and has written abundantly upon the political history of the Latin-American countries.

To succeed Professor Moses as Professor of Political Science, Professor David P. Barrows has been transferred from the Department of Education, in which department he was appointed Professor of Education in January, 1910.

Other promotions for 1911-12 are as follows: Charles H. Rieber, from Associate Professor to Professor of Logic, and Dean of the Summer Session. To be Associate Professors: Thomas H. Reed, Government; A. L. Kroeber, Anthropology; W. L. Jepson, Dendrology; W. C. Blasdale, Chemistry; A. W. Whitney, Insurance and Mathematics; C. A. Noble, Mathematics; J. N. LeConte, Mechanical Engineering; G. R. Noyes, Slavic Languages. To be Assistant Professors, H. J. Kesner, Civil Engineering; A. R. Moore, Physiology; Carlos Bransby, Spanish; J. Frank Daniels, Zoology.

F. H. Teggart, formerly Curator of the Academy of Pacific Coast History, has been named Associate Professor of Pacific Coast History and Honorary Curator of the Bancroft Library. Miss Lucy Stebbins, in addition to appointment as Assistant to the Dean of Women, is also to be Lecturer in Charities. Mr. C. H. S. Howard, formerly Instructor in French, will be Instructor in Spanish.

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Leaves of Absence

For the year 1911-12 the following will be absent on leave: R. T. Crawford, Associate Professor of Practical Astronomy; C. D. von Neumayer, Instructor in Public Speaking; J. F. Wolle, Professor of Music; G. P. Adams, Assistant Professor of Philosophy; S. A. Chambers, Assistant Professor of French.

Leave of absence for the first half-year has been given to A. C. Lawson, Professor of Geology; R. O. Moody, Assistant Professor of Anatomy; A. C. Miller, Professor of Political Economy; H. R. Hatfield, Professor of Accounting; C. A. Noble, Associate Professor of Mathematics; and E. E. Hall, Associate Professor of Physics. For the second half-year, to D. N. Lehmer, Associate Professor of Mathematics.

New Regents

To the vacancy caused by the death of Regent J. B. Reinstein, '73, Governor Johnson has appointed Mr. Charles S. Wheeler, '84, of San Francisco, for the remainder of Regent Reinstein's term, which ends in March, 1912. Mr. Wheeler was formerly a Regent from 1902 to 1906, filling the unexpired term of Regent Arthur Rodgers, '74, who died in 1902.

The resignation as a Regent of former U. S. Senator Thomas R. Bard, on account of ill-health, left a vacancy which Governor Johnson filled by the appointment of Mr. P. E. Bowles, '82, President of the American National Bank of San Francisco. Mr. Bowles' term as Regent will run to 1922.

By appointment of the governor, Mr. Truxton Beale also became a member of the board in March, succeeding Judge Charles W. Slack, whose term as Regent expired last year. Dr. Chester Rowell, whose term had also expired, was reappointed a Regent by Governor Johnson.

Mr. R. J. Taussig has been re-elected President of the Mechanics' Institute in San Francisco, and thus succeeds himself as an ex-officio Regent.

Mr. A. L. Scott, elected President of the State Agricultural Society, became an ex-officio Regent in March, succeeding Mr. Henry A. Jastro.

Faculty Notes

Major E. M. Lewis, Professor of Military Science and Tactics, has received orders from the War Department which will require

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him in August to rejoin his regiment, the Sixteenth Infantry, now stationed in Alaska. Major Lewis has made friends of all who have known him here, among both faculty and students, and the necessity for his departure is deeply regretted.

Professor Carl C. Plehn has been appointed taxation expert to the State Board of Equalization, and has resigned as secretary of the commission on revenue and taxation, whose labors of several years were consummated in the adoption last November of the constitutional amendment establishing new methods of taxation for state purposes.

Professor H. K. Schilling, head of the German Department, was seriously injured by a fall from a horse on February 24. For a time it was feared that the injury would prove fatal. He is now making steady progress towards recovery.

Professor Charles Derleth, Dean of the College of Civil Engineering, has been elected president of the San Francisco Association of the American Society of Civil Engineers, for the year 1911.

Director Campbell of the Lick Observatory attended the meetings of the National Academy of Sciences at Washington in April, and also visited the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia.

Professor A. C. Miller was obliged to give up his University work in February, owing to a sudden attack of appendicitis which necessitated an operation.

LEGISLATIVE APPROPRIATIONS

The California Legislature of 1911 faced the difficult problem of appropriating money for state institutions under a new plan, as yet untried, of raising the state's revenue. Under the old taxation scheme, the University secured from the state the income of a tax of three cents on each $100 of assessed valuation. Under the new plan, enforced by a constitutional amendment adopted last November, the state is to derive its revenues from a tax on the gross earnings of corporations, other property being assessed hereafter for county and municipal taxes. It is expected now that county assessors, no longer under the pressure of seeking to avoid state taxation by making low assessments, will aim to make their assessments high in order to make the rate of taxation appear low. As the total of assessed valuation thus becomes, for a few years at least, a wholly problematical matter, and its rate of

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growth cannot be determined, the legislature held that it would be injudicious to continue a three-tenths of a mill tax for the University, or to make an appropriation based on a mill tax estimate. Until the new tax system has been tried, therefore, the legislature has appropriated for the University a progressively increasing sum for each of the next four years, the amount for 1911-12 being seven per cent more than was yielded by the three-cent tax in 1910-11, and the amount each succeeding year until June 30, 1915, being seven per cent greater than the year preceding. The income of the University from the state will therefore be as follows:

Year ending June 30, 1911 (three-cent tax)	$711,000
Year ending June 30, 1912 (seven per cent more)	760,770
Year ending June 30, 1913 (seven per cent more)	814,023
Year ending June 30, 1914 (seven per cent more)	871,004
Year ending June 30, 1915 (seven per cent more)	931,974

APPROPRIATIONS FOR 1911-1913.

The total amount appropriated by the legislature for the two years ending June 30, 1913, is $2,296,003.67, as follows:

1. State University Fund, 1911-12 (as above described)	$760,770.00	
1912-13	814,023.00	
		$1,574,793.00
2. Items in the General Appropriation Bill:		
a. Toward the support and maintenance of the University	$200,000.00	
b. Salary of the Professorship of Music, two years	6,000.00	
c. Credit at the State Printing Office, for bulletins of the Agricultural Experiment Station and publications of the Lick Observatory	12,000.00	
		$218,000.00
3. Special appropriations for the general purposes of the University:		
a. Deficiency at the State Printing Office	$8,091.00	
b. To restore income impaired by loss of property in the San Francisco fire, this property being investment of endowment	62,000.00	
c. For alterations in the buildings of the Los Angeles Medical Department	25,000.00	
		$95,091.00

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4. Agricultural Appropriations:

a. **For the University Farm at Davis:**

1) **In the General Appropriation Bill:**

(a) University Farm Salaries....	$60,000,00	
(b) Support of the University Farm	50,000.00	
(c) Improvements	5,000.00	
		$115,000.00

2) **Special appropriations:**

(a) Deficiency, 1907-09	$12,344.87	
(b) Purchase of livestock	12,000.00	
(c) Pumping plant for fire protection and water and sanitary system	10,000.00	
(d) Equipment	11,000.00	
(e) Buildings, including a dormitory	65,000.00	
(f) Machinery, implements, etc.	2,500.00	
		112,844.87
Total for the University Farm		$227,844.87

b. **Other agricultural appropriations:**

1) **General appropriation for maintenance of agricultural research in southern California** 40,000.00

2) **Special appropriations: Investigations in Imperial County, $15,000; in cereals, $15,000; in plant diseases, $15,000; in viticulture, $15,000; in vegetable diseases (Whittier), $6,000; for making serums against hog cholera, $16,000; for investigation of insecticides and fungicides, $5,000; Farmers' Institutes, $30,000; lands and buildings at Riverside Citrus Experiment Station, $25,000; buildings, etc., at Whittier, $1,400; barn and fences at Chico Forestry Station, $875. Total**..... 144,275.00

Total for agriculture $408,119.87

$2,296,003.87

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The above "Total for Agriculture" has reference, of course, only to the total state appropriations for agricultural purposes, and does not include what is to be spent on agriculture from other funds.

A bill providing an appropriation for a new building to replace North Hall did not pass.

GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS

Gift for a Campanile

Among other gifts and bequests announced by President Wheeler at the Charter Day exercises, he made known the promise of $150,000 by Mrs. Jane K. Sather for a campanile. This amount will become available after the death of Mrs. Sather, together with other generous provisions which she has made over for the use of the University subject to her life interest in their income.

The campanile will stand about where the flagstaff is now, in front of the Bacon Library, and will be built of white granite like the other permanent buildings. It will be 125 or 150 feet high, and will contain a clock and chimes. With the proposed Auditorium and the Museum, and the University Library which is now about ready for occupancy, the campanile will complete the group of the most striking architectural features of the new University.

1910 Memorial Bridge

The class of 1910, with the generous cooperation of Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, will soon have erected a memorial footbridge over Strawberry Creek north of the Faculty Club. The bridge will be of concrete, from plans drawn by John Bakewell '93, and Arthur Brown, Jr., '96. On the walk of the South Drive a Roman arch will be built, from which nine steps will lead to an arched bridge across the creek. On the south side of the creek nine steps will descend to the path. Professor W. A. Merrill has written the following inscription which will be placed over the portal:

> Hanc Pontem Dono Dedit Classis Studentium
> Quae in Anno MDCCCCX Foras Exit Ne Memoria
> Sua Apud Posteros Pereat Impensis Subvenit
> Phoebe Apperson Hearst.

The University Library

The University Library will be ready for use by the beginning of the next college year. The steel stacks in the stack room and

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in the periodical room and Bancroft Library room have been erected, and contracts were let at the April meeting of the Regents for some final items of equipment, such as additional lighting fixtures, table lamps and vestibule lamps, the carving and setting in place of three marble benches, the marble loan desk, and marble bases for four vestibule lamps, and steel shelving for the stock-room of the University Press in the basement.

Provision for New Athletic Track

The Regents in March on the recommendation of their committee on grounds and buildings voted permission, revocable at will, to the Associated Students to build at their own expense a running track in Strawberry Cañon, near the Dairy Barn. The selection of an architect and all plans and construction are to be subject to the approval of the Regents, and their permit provides that the track shall cross Strawberry Creek on bridges, and that the stream bed be left as an open creek.

The 1905 Bench

The class of 1905 has placed among the oaks on the lower campus, facing the football statue, a marble bench, erected as a memorial of the establishment of student self-government among the undergraduate students. The bench was designed by Professor John Galen Howard, and shows its purpose by the inscription upon it of the words, "To hold in remembrance that Benjamin Ide Wheeler, President of the University of California, gave self-government to undergraduate students, the Class of 1905 has set this bench."

Dedication of Boalt Hall.

The newly completed Boalt Hall of Law was dedicated with simple ceremonies on the afternoon of April 28, in the presence of Mrs. Boalt, the faculty and students of the Department of Jurisprudence and others interested. The speakers were President Wheeler, Professor William Carey Jones, and Mr. Charles Stetson Wheeler.

Agriculture Hall

The steel frame erection of the new Agriculture Hall is about completed. Contracts have been made for the plumbing, carpentry and mill work, furring, lathing and plastering, marble and terazzo, and roofing and sheet-metal work.

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The President's House

President Wheeler is now occupying the recently completed President's House. Work is still in progress on the laying out of the grounds and the construction of a roadway and walks.

Other contracts and plans for building operations, for which the Regents made provision at their April meeting, are for lighting fixtures in Boalt Hall, heating and ventilating equipment in the attic of California Hall, and electric wiring in the steel book stacks of the new University Library. Plans are also to be prepared for a lecture room, seating about 450 people, to be erected adjoining the present Chemistry Building.

When the Bancroft Library has been moved to its new quarters in the University Library, the space which it now occupies in the attic of California Hall is to be used for the classes in free-hand drawing.

JACOB BERT REINSTEIN

Jacob Bert Reinstein, '73, Regent of the University, died at his home in San Francisco on April 16, 1911.

Regent Reinstein was born in San Francisco in 1853, and entered the University of California in 1869 at the age of sixteen. The University had received its charter from the state in 1868, taking over the College of California, and Reinstein's class was the first to enter the new University. On Commencement Day, July 16, 1873, at the exercises held in the still uncompleted North Hall, Reinstein was one of the twelve who made up the first class to receive degrees from the University, the pioneer class styled by President Daniel Coit Gilman "the twelve apostles." Of this class seven now survive.

Mr. Reinstein became a Regent in 1896. Very soon after taking his place on the Board he became interested in the proposition suggested by Mr. B. R. Maybeck, then Instructor in Drawing, to have an architectural plan for the future University buildings. From the time when he first suggested an international architectural competition to the Regents in October, 1896, until with the aid of Mrs. Hearst the competition was carried out and the final awards made in September, 1899, Regent Reinstein labored indefatigably for the success of this project.

Mr. Reinstein received the degree of A.M. from the University in 1876, and from the time of his graduation was engaged in the practice of the law in San Francisco. He was unmarried.

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ERNEST VICTOR COWELL

In the death of Ernest Cowell, '80, which happened on March 18, 1911, the University lost one of its most helpful alumni and generous friends. Mr. Cowell was born in 1859 and entered the University in 1876 from Santa Cruz. He was president and part owner of the Cowell Lime and Cement Company at the time of his death. As a benefactor of the University he preferred to remain anonymous, but many times came quietly to the aid of student enterprises, particularly in athletics. He was chairman of the committee on one hundred in charge of the golden jubilee celebration of the College of California in 1910, and was also the donor of the Ernest V. Cowell scholarship fund, from which four scholarships of an annual value of $250 are awarded to meritorious graduates of the Santa Cruz High School.

By his will Mr. Cowell intended to leave to the University a bequest of $750,000, to be used for a gymnasium, hospital, and athletic stadium, also the reversion of $250,000 more for greenhouses after the death of his widow. The execution of the will is subject to the pleasure of Mrs. Cowell, and of two sisters and a brother who survive Mr. Cowell, as the bequest to the University is said to be in excess of the amount which may legally be left to an institution.

Mrs. Cowell was Miss Alice M. Bovyer, of the class of '79. There are no children.

GIFTS TO THE UNIVERSITY

Mr. Eugene Meyer, Jr., of New York, a former student of the University, has presented to the University $2,000, the income to be used for the purchase of books on history.

Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst has kindly offered to meet the cost of constructing a swimming pool at the Lick Observatory on Mount Hamilton, amounting to about $2,500.

PRIZES FOR TOLSTOI ESSAYS

Regent Truxton Beale has given to the University the sum of $1,000 to be used for two prizes, of $600 and $400, for the two best essays by students of the University on Tolstoi's book "What Is to Be Done."

PROPOSED COLLEGE OF JURISPRUDENCE

The University Council, a committee of the Academic Senate,

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proposed to the Senate in March a resolution recommending the creation of a College of Jurisprudence. The Senate adopted the resolutions and they were submitted to the Regents at their March meeting. The resolutions recommend.

A. That a College of Jurisprudence be erected at Berkeley.

B. That the admission requirements of the College of Jurisprudence include Senior standing in any undergraduate college of this University, or the equivalent thereof.

The resolution was referred for consideration to the lawyers of the Board of Regents.

INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY BILL DEFEATED

A bill presented to the legislature of the state at its recent session proposed the creation of a "California Institute of Technology" in the southern part of the state, taking over the property of the Throop Institute in Pasadena as the nucleus of the establishment. The bill called forth prompt opposition on the part of the friends of the University, in which prominent alumni took an active part. Although favorably recommended by the senate committee to which it was referred, the bill failed to pass.

The apprehension of the friends of the University in regard to this matter was largely due to the fact that the bill proposing the new institution provided for its control by an independent board of trustees, or regents. If such a plan were carried out it would inevitably lead to two varying standards of technical training in the state, and other troublous conditions already experienced by states which support two state institutions of collegiate rank.

The following resolutions were passed by the Academic Senate in March, and submitted to the Regents:

TO THE HONORABLE BOARD OF REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

WHEREAS, The Academic Senate, consisting of all the faculties and instructors in the entire University, both in Berkeley and elsewhere, is authorized by section 18 of the Organic Act to memorialize the Board of Regents;

And WHEREAS, Orders 166 and 167 of your honorable Board provide for communications to your Board from the Academic Senate,

The Academic Senate would respectfully call the attention of the Board of Regents to a bill now pending in the legislature, looking to the establishment of a proposed California Institute of Technology, which institute is to conduct instruc-

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tion of college grade in engineering, to confer academic degrees, and to have its own separate and independent governing board.

The Academic Senate views with grave apprehension such a departure from the practice hitherto existing in this state of placing all collegiate instruction, conducted at the expense and in the name of the state, under any other board of control than the Regents of the University. The establishing of another board to supervise, in the name of the state, instruction in engineering will inevitably result in a double and variant standard of training for the engineering professions.

The Regents are at present supervising instruction and research in many parts of the state. The University is coterminous with the boundaries of the entire state, and unity of standard in university and collegiate instruction can alone be secured by the oversight of one governing board.

The spirit of the constitution, the history of higher education in this and other states lead us to believe that the present high standard of university instruction can be maintained only by continuing to place all university and college work, for which the state is directly responsible, under one Board of Regents.

The Academic Senate, therefore, respectfully memorializes your honorable Board to take such action in this matter as may seem to it expedient.

Respectfully submitted,

Attest:
JAMES SUTTON,
Secretary.

C. H. RIEBER,
Chairman, pro tem.

CHARTER DAY

The speaker at the Charter Day exercises on March 23 was the Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, ex-President of the United States. The Charter Day address was given in the morning, in the Greek Theatre, to an audience which completely filled the great theatre. In the afternoon Mr. Roosevelt reviewed the University Cadets and was the guest at a reception given by President Wheeler at Hearst Hall. In the evening he visited the Faculty Club and also spent a few minutes at the students' baseball rally.

THE EARL LECTURES

No other space being large enough for the audiences, the Earl Lectures, given annually under the auspices of the Pacific Theological Seminary, were this year given in the Greek Theatre. The

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lecturer was Theodore Roosevelt. The attendance was remarkable, particularly on Sunday, March 26, when the theatre was crowded to its capacity an hour before the lecture began, and as many people were turned away as were able to find admission.

FELLOWSHIP IN PACIFIC COAST HISTORY

The following conditions are announced as governing the Native Sons Fellowship in Pacific Coast History, to be awarded this year for the first time at the University of California:

Candidates for the fellowship must be graduates of a university and must have done at least one year of graduate work upon Pacific Coast history.

They must present some written work showing knowledge of research upon some subject in the history of the Pacific Coast.

The names of the candidates for the fellowship, with their qualifications and evidence of their training for historical research in the form of written work, shall be submitted by the Department of History of the University of California on or about the first of May in each year, to a committee chosen by the Grand Parlor of the Native Sons of the Golden West at its annual session, and the name of the candidate selected by the committee shall be submitted to the President of the University of California to be announced by him upon Commencement Day.

A University Fellow in Pacific Coast History may be a candidate for re-election to the fellowship upon his submitting proof of his fitness, either by thoroughness of the work done during the year of his term of the fellowship, or by the promise for the completion of larger investigations.

The order of the Native Sons of the Golden West shall pay annually to the Regents of the University of California the sum of one thousand five hundred dollars for the maintenance of the Fellowship in Pacific Coast History.

THE EMILY CHAMBERLAIN COOK PRIZE

The Emily Chamberlain Cook Prize in Poetry, established in 1909 by Professor Alfred S. Cook of Yale University in memory of his wife, was awarded by the committee in charge to Miss Lorraine Andrews of the Junior class, for a poem entitled "Ode to the Pioneers." The poem is printed in this number of the CHRONICLE.

The amount of the prize is $50. No award was made in 1910, none of the poems submitted being considered worthy.

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PACIFIC ASSOCIATION OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIETIES.

The Biological Society of the Pacific Coast, the Cordilleran Section of the Geological Society of America, The Pacific Slope Association of Economic Entomologists, the Pacific Coast Palaeontological Society, the Technical Society of the Pacific Coast, and the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, held meetings at the University on March 31 and April 1, and at a joint meeting formed an organization to be known as the Pacific Association of Scientific Societies. Professor Otto von Gelden of Stanford was elected president of the Association, and Professor Louderback and Professor Bowman of the University of California were elected vice-president and secretary.

MEETINGS AND LECTURES

UNIVERSITY MEETINGS

January 20—Rev. Charles L. Kloss, D.D., Acting Minister, First Congregational Church, Oakland; music, University Glee Club.

February 3—Mr. Clayton Cooper, M.A., of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association; Mr. Joseph Fels, public lecturer; music, Miss Phyllis Maguire, '13, soprano, Mr. Arne Hoisholt, '12, cello.

February 17—Rev. Dr. Charles E. Aked, of New York City; President James A. B. Scherer, of the Throop Polytechnic Institute, Pasadena; music, Ladies' Quartette, Misses Alice Hicks, '13, Gladys Lewis, '12, Mabel Woodman, '11, Madge Woodman, '10.

March 3—Mr. John Eshleman, '02, President of the California Railroad Commission; Dr. Ernst Daenell, Professor of Mediaeval and Modern History in the University of Kiel, and Kaiser Wilhelm Exchange Professor at Columbia University; music, cornet solo, Leroy Allen, '12, vocal solo, Mabel Clinch, '11, Trio, F. B. Hornick, '14, H. P. Nachtrieb, '14, P. D. Jewett, '14.

March 17—Dr. James A. MacDonald, Editor of the Toronto Globe; Rev. Dr. D. D. MacLaurin, of Spokane, Washington; music, Ladies' Quartette; violin solo, Mr. H. Warner Sherwood, '13.

March 31—Baron von Moltke, Minister to the United States from Denmark; programme of music: The Golden Bear, Student body; The University Orchestra; the Treble Clef Society; Mr. H. Warner Sherwood, '13, violin solo; The Stanford Song, Student

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Body; Women's Quartette; Women's Mandolin Club; University Glee Club; University Band; All Hail Blue and Gold, Student Body.

April 14—Julean Arnold, '02, United States Consul at Amoy, China, and Hon. John W. Stetson, '93, State Senator from Alameda County; music by a double quartette of men and women students.

April 28—Final meeting of the college year. The speakers were R. H. Moulton, President of the Senior Class; Miss Rose Gardner, President of the Associated Women Students; A. C. Prendergast, Editor of the *Daily Calfornian;* W. G. Donald, Captain of the Track Team; Jay Dwiggins, Captain of the Football Team; W. H. Greenlaw, Captain of the Baseball Team; David T. Babcock, member of the Undergraduate Students' Affairs Committee; Miss Cheryl Merrill, President of the Prytanean Society; Everett L. Bull, of the Varsity crew; G. A. Haines, retiring President of the Associated Students; and Newton B. Drury, President-elect of the Associated Students.

Lectures on American Democracy

President Wheeler has offered during the current half-year a series of lectures, being the same as those which he delivered in Berlin in 1909. The series is entitled "American Democracy as represented in College, School, and Church," the lectures given on Wednesday afternoons in the lecture room of California Hall.

The Earl Lectures

The Earl Lectures for 1911 were delivered by the Hon. Theodore Roosevelt in the Greek Theatre, under the auspices of the Pacific Theological Seminary. The dates and subjects follow:

March 24—Realizable Ideals.

March 25—The Home and the Child.

March 26—The Bible and the Life of the People.

March 27—The Public Servant and the Eighth Commandment.

March 28—The Shaping of Public Opinion and the Ninth Commandment.

Harvey Club Lectures

February 10—Dr. T. C. Burnett, Some Problems in Physiology.

February 23—Dr. G. N. Rusk, The Development of the Nervous System.

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March 9—Mr. Joseph Grinnell, Adaptive Habits and Structure of Arctic Animals.

March 21—Mr. Harold Bryant, The Work of the Agricultural Demonstration Train and the Economic Relation of Some California Birds and Mammals.

April 6—Professor C. A. Kofoid, Pearls and Pearl Fisheries.

Hitchcock Lectures

Eight lectures on the Hitchcock Foundation were delivered by Professor Harry Fielding Reid, of Johns Hopkins University on the evenings of March 28, 29, 30, and 31, and of April 3, 4, 5, and 6. The general title of the course of lectures was "The Mechanics of Earthquakes."

League of the Republic Lectures

The League of the Republic has held frequent meetings during the current semester. Among the subjects discussed have been the Canadian reciprocity treaty, the political situation in Oakland, the political significance of the mobilization of the army on the Mexican border, and the recall of the judiciary.

Physics Department Meetings

February 10—Dr. T. S. Elston, The Sphere of Molecular Influence.

April 7—Mr. Hiram W. Edwards, A Mathematical and Experimental Treatment of the Resistance of Certain Linear Conductors to Alternating Currents of High Frequency.

Physiological Department Lectures

Under the auspices of the Physiological Department Dr. Hans Aron, of the Philippine Medical School, Manila, gave two lectures in April on the subject of "Nutrition and Hygiene in the Tropics."

Ornithology Lectures.

Under the auspices of the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology and of the Cooper Ornithological Club, the following lectures were given on April 1:

Dr. Walter K. Fisher, of Stanford University, A Bird Metropolis of the Pacific.

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Professor Loye Holmes Miller, of the Los Angeles State Normal School, A Synopsis of our Knowledge concerning the Fossil Birds of the Pacific Coast.

Mr. Herbert L. Coggins, of San Francisco, An Apology for Popular Ornithology.

The Philosophical Union

The subject of the twenty-second annual programme of the Philosophical Union was The Development and Interpretation of Modern Ethical and Social Ideals. During the current half-year meetings have been held as follows:

February 24—Addison W. Moore, Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy, University of Chicago, The Development and Conflict of Modern Ethical Ideals.

March 24—Mr. Francis C. Becker, Economic Organization and Ethical Ideals.

April 7—Thomas H. Reed, A.B., LL.B., Executive Secretary to the Governor, The State and Ethical Ideals.

Sigma Xi Lectures

February 1—Professor Harry Beal Torrey, New Aspects of an old Problem in Heredity.

March 1—Professor Frederick P. Gay, Anaphylaxis.

March 12—Professor R. A. Harper, Recent Work on Graft Hybrids.

Mining Association Lectures

February 6—Dr. Thomas T. Read, former Professor of Metallurgy of the Imperial Pei-Yang University at Tientsin, China, The General Outlook of Mining in China.

April 10—Mr. J. R. Finlay, Consulting Engineer Bunker Hill and Sullivan Co., of Idaho, and of the Treadwell Mine, Alaska, The Development of the Mining Industry in the West.

Lectures in Local Zoology

January 23—Mr. Joseph Grinnell, Midwinter Birds on the University Campus.

January 30—Mr. Joseph Grinnell, Identification of Birds from their Songs and Actions.

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February 6—Mr. Joseph Grinnell, Some Mammals of California and their Economic Relations.

February 13—Mr. Joseph Grinnell, Harmless and Poisonous Reptiles of California.

February 20—Mr. Joseph Grinnell, The Spring Migration of Birds.

February 27—Professor H. B. Torrey, The Food Fishes of the Vicinity.

March 6—Professor H. B. Torrey, The Sacramento Salmon.

March 13—Professor H. B. Torrey, The Oyster Problem.

March 20—Professor H. B. Torrey, The Story of a Barnacle.

March 27—Mr. Joseph Grinnell, Nests and Eggs of our Native Birds.

April 3—Professor C. A. Kofoid, Marine Borers in their Relation to Shipping Interests of the Pacific Coast.

April 10—Professor C. A. Kofoid, The Primal Food Supply of Sea.

April 17—Professor C. A. Kofoid, The Relations of Animals of our Neighborhood to the Causation and Spread of Disease. Tropical Diseases brought to our Coast.

April 24—Professor J. C. Merriam, Mammals of the Bay Region, of the Geological Periods Immediately Preceding the Present.

Weinstock Lecture.

The eighth lecture on the Weinstock Foundation was delivered on February 15 by Mr. Frank B. Anderson, President of the Bank of California. The subject chosen was Morals in Trade and Commerce.

Other Lectures.

February 2—International Club, Holland evening. Mr. George J. Marsily, Consul for the Netherlands at San Francisco; Mr. A. van R. Versluys, Secretary of the Holland Society of San Francisco.

February 14—Mr. Curtis H. Lindley, President of the San Francisco Bar Association, addressed the Law Association on Legal Ethics.

February 15—Miss Minnie Bronson, representative of the Massachusetts Anti-Suffragette Association, spoke to the women

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students on the benefits women can render the state without the ballot.

February 16—The Civil Engineering Association listened to an address on the Manufacture of Cement by Mr. Elvin U. Leh.

February 20—Mr. W. C. Cole, of the Westinghouse Electric Co., addressed the Associated Electric and Mining Engineers.

March 2—Professor Ernst Daenell, of the University of Kiel, Kaiser Wilhelm Exchange Professor at Columbia University, delivered an exceptionally interesting and instructive lecture on "Germany and Present Political Conditions in Europe."

March 11—Professor Max Friedländer, Professor of Music in the University of Berlin, made two very delightful addresses, the subject of the first being "The Life and Work of Beethoven," and of the second (given March 14), "German Folk-songs with Reference to English and American Folk-songs."

March 15—Under the auspices of the Big C Society, Mr. A. E. Roth, of Stanford University, gave an illustrated talk on the trip of the Rugby Team to Australia.

March 28—Mr. R. W. Osborn, manager of the Pennsylvania Fire Insurance Company, spoke on "The Fire Insurance Policy."

March 30—Mr. F. A. Somers, of Somers & Company, San Francisco, addressed the Agriculture Club on the commission business.

April 3—Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, Member of the French Senate, Delegate to the first and second Hague Conferences, Judge of the Hague Court, and in 1910 recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, delivered an address on International Conciliation.

April 7—Mr. Herbert W. Gleason, under the auspices of the Sierra Club, gave an illustrated lecture on "Our National Parks."

April 10—"The Better City" was the subject of a lecture given by the Rev. Dana W. Bartlett, Superintendent of the Bethlehem Settlements, Los Angeles, California.

April 15—Dr. Clark W. Hetherington, President of the Athletic Research Society.

April 18.—Professor Inayat Khan, with three Hindu assistants, gave a lecture on Hindu Music, with illustrations by vocal and instrumental interpretations and by the phonograph.

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MUSIC AND DRAMA

The Half-hour of Music.

February 26 and March 5—A programme of compositions by Count Axel Raoul Wachtmeister, under the direction of the composer, was announced, but were not given owing to inclement weather.

March 12—The U. S. Naval Training Station Band (Mr. T. J. Kennedy, U.S.N., bandmaster).

March 19—Pupils of Miss Jessie Dean Moore, Miss Estelle Southworth, accompanist.

March 26—No concert, on account of Mr. Roosevelt's lecture.

April 2—The Treble Clef Club of San Francisco, Mr. Paul Steindorff, director, Mr. William Goodrum, accompanist.

April 9—Miss Mary Sherwood, 'cellist, Mrs. R. M. Hughes, accompanist, and Miss Sophie Rottanzi, soprano, Mr. H. B. Pasmore, accompanist.

PERFORMANCES BY NON-UNIVERSITY ORGANIZATIONS.

Rossini's "Stabat Mater."

On Good Friday afternoon, April 14, at half-past three, Rossini's "Stabat Mater" was performed in the Greek Theatre by a chorus of one hundred and fifty voices selected from the San Francisco Choral Society and the Wednesday Morning Club, of Oakland; a vocal quartette consisting of Miss Fannie Bailey, soprano, Mrs. Carroll Nicholson, contralto, Mr. Clinton R. Morse, tenor, and Mr. Henry L. Berry, bass; and an orchestra of forty; under the direction of Mr. Paul Steindorff.

PERFORMANCES BY UNIVERSITY ORGANIZATIONS.

"Candida."

The Mask and Dagger Society gave a presentation of Bernard Shaw's "Candida" on the evening of February 23, at the Macdonough Theatre, Oakland, and repeated the performance in Sacramento, March 11.

"Mary Stuart."

The English Club of the University on the evening of April 22 presented a version of Schiller's "Mary Stuart" in the Greek Theatre.

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First Performance of a Chinese Play.

For the first time in any American university, a Chinese play was staged at the University of California on April 27, in Hearst Hall. The play, entitled "All for a Rose," was in the Mandarin dialect, and written by Mon Ling Chiang, a Junior in the College of Social Sciences, who registers from Shanghai, China. The performance was given under the auspices of the Cathay Club.

A varied programme of classical and popular music was given by the Treble Clef Society on the evening of April 7. The concert was under the direction of Mr. Paul Steindorff, and the Society was assisted by Miss Alice Davies, violinist, the Women's Mandolin and Guitar Club, and the University Orchestra.

An evening of music by the Women's Mandolin and Guitar Club of the University was given at the Town and Gown Club in Berkeley on April 18.

UNDERGRADUATE AFFAIRS.

Student Officers for 1911-12.

Newton B. Drury, of Berkeley, has been elected President of the Associated Students for the coming year. Other officers elected were: Ralph C. McGee, Vice-President; Lyman Grimes, Secretary; John R. Quinn, Yell leader.

President-elect Drury has been a member of the intercollegiate debating team annually since his freshman year, and was the winner of the Carnot medal in 1910.

Miss Lorraine Andrews has been elected President of the Associated Women Students for 1910-11; Florence Doyle and Anna Kidder, Vice-Presidents; Harriet Judd, Secretary, and Amy Waite, Treasurer.

Miss Andrews was among the winners of the Bonnheim Dissertation Prizes (Lower Division) in 1909 and 1910, and this year was announced the winner of the Emily Chamberlain Cook Prize in Poetry.

Intercollegiate Debate.

The eighteenth intercollegiate debate was held in the Harmon Gymnasium on the evening of April 14, and was won by the California debaters, who took the affirmative of the question, Resolved,

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that the United States should establish a central bank, waiving the Constitutionality of the question. The California speakers were J. J. Miller, '13, N. B. Drury, '12, and F. M. Shipper, '12, the winners of last year's contest. Stanford's team were L. H. Hilton, '11, H. R. Person, '12, and R. J. Miller, '11. The judges were Judge George A. Sturtevant, of the Superior Court, San Francisco; Mr. Frank J. Symmes, and Rabbi Martin A. Meyer. President Wheeler presided.

The Carnot Debate.

The seventeenth annual Carnot debate was won by Mr. F. M. Shipper, '12, of the University of California, who upheld the affirmative of the question, "Resolved, that the developments of the labor problem during the last decade have threatened the stability of the French Republic." The other California representatives were J. G. Sweet, '12, and F. B. Kittredge, '12, and Stanford was represented by E. E. Tincher, '12, F. H. Hilton, '11, and R. J. Miller, '11. The debate was held in the Stanford Assembly Hall, Stanford University, February 5, President Jordan presiding, and is the tenth which California has won. The judges were Mr. Charles A. Murdock, Judge Lucien M. Shaw, and Mr. Henry Payot.

The Bonnheim Contest.

The subject of this year's contest (for the Lower Division) is "The Honor System in Examinations." The winners of the preliminary prizes were Miss Susanna Martin, '14, Messrs. A. P. Hayne, '13, W. G. Marvin, '14, and H. J. Weldon, '13. The final debate will take place on the evening of April 29 in Hearst Hall.

Track and Field Meets.

The eighteenth intercollegiate track and field meet was won by California on April 15, the score being 87⅔ to 34⅓. This is the largest score made by either university since California won by a majority of 54 points in 1894, but exceeds the score of 85 to 32 in 1901 by only one-third of a point.

Seven Stanford-California records were broken, and the new marks in the half-mile and high jump are also new Pacific Coast records. The new records are:

Half-mile, 1 min. 58⅕ sec., Dowd, C.
Mile, 4 min. 31 sec., H. Wood, C.
Two miles, 9 min. 59⅕ sec., Crabbe, C.

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220-yard hurdles, 25 sec., Beeson, C.
Hammer throw, 157 feet, 5½ inches, Shattuck, C.
Broad jump, 23 feet 3 inches, Allen, C.
High jump, 6 feet 3 inches, Hovine (S) and Beeson (C) tied.

In the 120-yard hurdles the present Stanford-California record of 15⅘ seconds, held by Cowles, Edwards, and Donald of California, was equalled by Beeson. The feature of the day was easily the performance of this young athlete from Healdsburg, a freshman in the College of Dentistry, who in his first intercollegiate contest tied for first place in the high jump at the record height of 6 feet 3 inches, after setting a new mark in the 220-yard hurdles and equalling the record time of the 120-yard hurdles.

Second Pacific Coast Conference Meet.

The second annual Pacific Coast Conference Meet was held on the California track on April 22. Oregon, Washington, Stanford and California were represented. The meet was won by California, the scores being, California 60, Stanford 37, Washington 17, and Oregon 10. In the 120-yard hurdle race Beeson of California equalled the American intercollegiate record of 15⅘ seconds, and in the 220-yard hurdles equalled the Pacific Coast record of 24⅘ seconds, in both cases bettering his time in the Stanford-California meet the week before.

The California freshmen defeated the Stanford freshmen 84 to 38 on the Stanford track, March 18. Three freshman records were broken by California.

On March 4 the Pomona-California meet was held at Pomona. California won, 73 to 49.

Tennis.

In the nineteenth annual intercollegiate tennis tournament held on the California courts, April 21 and 22, California won its thirteenth match by securing both of the doubles and two of the three singles. In spite of the score the contests were remarkably close.

In the women's tournament on April 15 the representatives of California won all five games.

Baseball.

California won two successive games in the 1911 series, the first on California Field, March 25, score 4 to 3, in ten innings, and the second on the Stanford diamond, April 1, score 4 to 1.

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Boating.

The Stanford crews, both Freshman and Varsity, defeated the California oarsmen on the Oakland estuary, April 15.

Chess.

California defeated Stanford by a score of 6 to 1 at the annual chess tournament on April 14, securing five games and two draws. This brings to California the Rice trophy cup, presented by I. L. Rice of New York two years ago and won last year by Stanford.

Honor Society Elections.

Tau Beta Pi.

The engineering honor society initiated twelve new members this term. Professor A. C. Lawson, Professor of Mineralogy and Geology, was received as an honorary member, B. A. Etcheverry, Associate Professor of Irrigation Engineering, and Lewis E. Ashbaugh, from the Minnesota Alpha Chapter, were received as alumnus members. The undergraduates admitted were C. H. Fuchs, '11, W. E. DeBerry, '11, G. A. Buddle, '12, and S. B. Davis, '12, of the College of Mining; H. E. Sandoval, '12, L. S. Reddy, '12, E. A. Abeel, '12, and A. V. Guillou, '12, of the College of Mechanics; E. A. Ingham, '11, J. S. Halbert, '12, T. B. Waddell, '12, and W. H. Smyth, '12, of the College of Engineering.

Phi Beta Kappa.

Seventeen undergraduates received the Phi Beta Kappa Key in March, thirteen Seniors and four Juniors, twelve women and five men. The Seniors are Lilian E. Amos, Della Bayly, Ethel M. Burke, Ida M. Everett, Rose Gardner, Edna Kirk, Marie K. Lazarus, Anna B. Nelson, Hazel M. Nolting, Signe E. Sonderberg, Henry D. B. Soulé, Charron M. Staples, and Walter P. Taylor. The Juniors are Alice Lorraine Andrews, Edith E. Pence, Ray M. Gidney, and Laurence H. Smith.

Prytanean Society.

The women's honor society elected eight Seniors and six Juniors to membership in April. The new members are Blanche E. Ahlers, Vera I. Bagot, Mabel Clinch, Fern I. Enos, Winifred L. Hunt, Irene A. Patchett, Ruth G. Robinson, and Grace M. Tully, of the Senior class, and Lorraine Andrews, May B. Chase, Marion Gay, Grace Hamilton, Anna R. Kidder, and Rachel K. Miller, of the Junior class.

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Mim Kaph Mim.

The chemistry honor society has added to its roll E. E. Behr, '10, F. E. Johnson, '08, J. O. Ziebolz, '11, R. C. d'Erlach, '11, R. W. Tavenner, 12, P. W. Christman, 12, and G. A. Buddle, '12.

Mask and Dagger.

The dramatic honor society of the University has elected to its membership W. H. Greenlaw, '11, R. R. Weber, '12, and Barbara Nachtrieb, '13.

English Club.

The English Club admitted to membership twelve new members: Lytle Gillespy, '11, Edith Pence, '12, Barbara Nachtrieb, '13, Charlotte Kett, '12, E. S. Walker, '11, F. M. Shipper, '12, E. M. Einstein, '12, A. K. Hoisholt, '12, L. M. Jackson, '12, J. J. Miller, '13, R. A. Silent, '13, and C. M. Torrey, '13.

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA CHRONICLE

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EARNING A LIVING*

BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER.

It is foremost in the thought of you all to-day that at last you are going forth into life. So, we hope, you are. But it may be profitable still to temper that foremost thought with some recognition that you have already been in life all the days you have been here. This university is not a patent incubator, holding the chill of the world aloof by artificial warmth. Much more than was the case in the old-time colleges you have been schooled in real problems and real risks. This is no incubator and you are no chickens. The world you are entering will prove surprisingly like the world you have been in. Most of you, furthermore, are likely to be, in the days to come, just about what you have been in the days spent here. Your characters are long since pretty thoroughly set; in substance of being you will not change much, and, except for an occasional miracle of conversion, your coming fate will depend upon the way each one of you adjusts this to-day existing mechanism of self to the material of your several environments, and puts that mechanism into use by grace of will.

Most that you become and achieve in the first few years will appear to be largely matter of chance; after a decade it will begin to assume order as a natural and automatic output of character; most of it will be in a fearfully rigid accord with what you have been and done here; and at the end, when the account is made up, it will all prove "true

* Commencement address, delivered in the Greek Theatre, May 17, 1911.

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to seed,"—it will all be explained in terms of your past. There are few among your friends who have sufficient insight into character and its ingredients to foretell to-day what anyone of you will become, but at the end there will be few who have known your youth who will not be able to connect your success or failure with that which you are now. Who can read the pattern which the shuttle is flashing through the warp? But who cannot unweave the carpet's threads, and explain the finished texture?

As you sow, so shall you reap. If this were merely a maxim of fate, there were no need of my wasting words to-day. We should merely wait for the shuttle to flash its way on, till the inevitable pattern emerged. But it is because of the pronoun that I yet have license and hope to speak; for the words read: as *you* sow, so shall you reap. It is by grace of the pronoun that there is verge and scope for faith; and it is the deep mystery of the human will and what it, out of old material, can create anew, that draws the veil before the prophet's eyes, and forbids him to see what the biographer later can read like an open book.

As you sow, so shall you reap. It has been so, in a small way, since you have been here. It will be so, in ever increasing clearness and in ever enlarging measure, as your lives mature.

All that you will ever really be, and all that you will ever really possess, will be what you have actually worked for,—will be what you have actually *earned.* Getting is not possessing. The only way toward possessing and owning, whether it be owning goods or owning one's self, is the old-fashioned king's highway of earning by hard work. All the by-paths and short-cuts mean one of two things, either failure or fraud. If you fail, you do not get; but if you get and do not own—since you cannot if you do not earn—all your accumulations of goods and titles and station are so much paraphernalia and impedimenta. You can use them for the make-up of a part, but you cannot wear them; you can make yourself with them an actor and a fakir, but

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you cannot live the life. Everybody knows that it is of first importance for a man to be genuine; but you cannot be genuine if you seek results by arbitrary means, that is, by means which do not naturally and properly produce the results. You cannot be genuine unless you pay the price for what you get. You cannot be genuine unless you *earn*.

I suppose it would be hard to find anywhere within the limits of this land a group of young folk as large as this in which there is a more thorough-going and instinctive abhorrence for sham and for all that makes toward sham; but I wonder whether you are all aware how wide are the ramifications of sham, and how covertly and insidiously that disease which I may call the disease of arbitrary devices eats its way into the life-plans of men. At the risk of rehearsing commonplaces, I shall speak of some plain everyday things, in the hope that they may take their place in a light that is not for all of you quite commonplace.

Have you never heard of anyone trying to obtain an appointment to West Point viâ the circumstance that his uncle was a friend and ardent supporter of the Congressman from his district? His uncle's ardor for the Congressman had nothing to do with military affairs or with the young man's fitness for the exercise thereof; the connection of that ardor with his ambition for an appointment was therefore an entirely arbitrary one. He might afterwards prove worthy of the place, but so far as the data before us are concerned he was trying to obtain something of value by violent and arbitrary means instead of by earning it. Writing a cheque and signing it is the natural way of getting money from a bank; breaking open the safe door is the arbitrary way.

Have you never heard of anyone who asserted above all his fellow-citizens a claim to the postoffice of his town, not on the ground of any particular training or interest in such things as the transportation and distribution of mail, nor yet on the ground of any notable business ability, but on some such ground as that he had guessed correctly con-

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cerning the result of the last primary elections? Or he may claim correct views on the wool-schedule, or at least connection by marriage with some one who holds such views, or he may have been the tallest man in his regiment-before-Troy, or he may have a fine voice for campaign songs,—or some other utter incommensurable! It is in the first place a project for taking money from the public without any apparent solicitude to give the public an equivalent; but, worse than that, it is a proposition to join together things that have no rational connection, and so is part of a larger proposition to build human society on untruth. This, in the last analysis, is the real sin of war; and the annulment of this proposition is the real issue of peace among men. The peace toward which the hearts of all the nations yearn must come by the substitution in human society of reason for the irrational and the arbitrary. Peace is order, war is the whirlwind. In war you seize or are despoiled; in peace you earn.

But, you say, all the world is organized on this basis of influence and push and pull, and, if I do not conform thereto and use the world as I find it, I shall live in an unreal world, shall be labeled as "unpractical," and shall not succeed. These are the usual suggestions of the adversary of souls. They are not true. Just in so far as you lean on crutches at a time when you ought to be gaining strength by standing up on your own feet, you will inevitably incur softening of the moral muscle-fibre. Society is full of men who, from the passion for crutches, haven't any legs at all. This is the reason why so many men wait to be taken, whether physically or spiritually, to the polls in carriages. This is the reason why so many men who ought to be using their own judgment and doing righteousness, spend their moral strength in repaying favours. This is the reason why free citizens are herded in pens by bosses and bandits. This is the reason why freemen let themselves be bound through the craft of demagogues in the slave-chains of their own prejudices. It all begins when the young man is tempted

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to lean on artificial devices instead of just naturally standing up in his own strength.

You will be advised and urged to join all sorts of fraternal societies, not alone or even chiefly for the entirely proper purpose of friendly association primarily inherent in these bodies, but with the canny and sordid purpose of getting business or practice, of being shielded from criticism, or of being advanced politically. You will even hear the sacred relation of church membership proposed for like base use by such as bring the tables of the money-changers into the temple-court.

All these things are feeble and enfeebling indirections; they are proposals to escape the toil and risk of earning; they are unworthy of men and women who are challenged by opportunity to make their one life-chance productive to the full by unfolding it out of itself in utter genuineness. If all the time and strength which young candidates for life spend in marking time and in going northwest and northeast to get north should be put into straightforward valiant trudging due north on the hard road toward the star there would be more arrivals. The way to succeed at the law is to work at law and not go into politics to make acquaintances. I have seen too many men lose all zest for the real work of earning success, by absorption in the unreal motions of cajoling success, and gambling for it. Sudden successes we distrust, for they are not the safe and normal products of a past. You are climbing over ice, and we would rather see you chop each step deep and square, so that standing upon it you may have sure vantage to cut the next.

And now you go forth, all into the same world; but it will be as many worlds as you are many. Each will make his own. What each brings to it, that it will be. In answer to smiles it will yield joy; to the open eye it will yield knowledge; to worth it will yield treasure. You may own of it just so much as by use and understanding you can earn. It is a world of stones; but with the Midas-touch of merit you can transmute it into the gold of a contented and a useful life. Go forth into your world; go forth and earn!

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MORALS IN TRADE AND COMMERCE*

FRANK B. ANDERSON.

The most beautiful thing about youth is its power and eagerness to make ideals, and he is unfortunate who goes out into the world without some picture of services to be rendered, or of a goal to be attained. There are very few of us who, at some time or another, have not cherished these ideals, perhaps secretly and half ashamed as though to us alone had come an inspiration of a career that should touch the pulses of the world and leave it better than we found it. And in the making of youthful ideals we have changed very little with the passage of the centuries. The character of the ideals has changed with changing needs, but not we ourselves. Our young men still see visions; they still fill the future with conflict and with struggle and prospectively live out their lives with the crown of achievement in the distance. It is well that it should be so. The ideals of our youth are the motive-power of our lives, and even those of us who have lived far into the eras of disappointment would not willingly wipe from our memories even the most extravagant day dreams from which we drew energy and hope and fortitude and self-reliance.

If ideals have such a power over our lives, if they energize and direct our first entry into the world of affairs—

* A lecture delivered before the students of the University of California, February 15, 1911, under the Barbara Weinstock Foundation.

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as unquestionably they do—they must be counted among the real forces of the day, and as such they are as much a matter for our scrutiny and control as educational development or physical perfection. Not, perhaps, in the same way; for our ideals belong to that private domain wherein we rightly resent either dictation or authority from the outside. But we can apply both dictation and authority for ourselves. With a firm determination to be put upon the right side of the great issues of the day, to uphold honor and justice in public affairs, to uproot the tares and to sow the wheat in the domain of national business, we can apply our whole mental strength to a proper determination of those issues, to a correct distribution of praise and blame, to a careful adjustment of the means to the end and to a precise appreciation of the facts. We can satisfy ourselves that we have heard both sides and that enthusiasm has not deadened our ears to all appeals but the most noisy. We can see to it that our attitude is the judicial one and that our minds are so fixed upon the truth and upon the whole truth that there is no room for prejudice or for passion. All these things can be reared as a superstructure upon the groundwork of lofty ideals, for just as there can be no progress without ideals, so there can come nothing but calamity from ideals that are not guided by reflection and by knowledge.

Never before has it been so hard to know the facts as it is to-day. If we must give credit to the press for the diffusion of knowledge, so also must we recognize its equal power to diffuse prejudice and bias. The newspaper and the magazine of to-day are vast and intricate machines that supply the great majority of us with practically all the data upon which we base our judgments. The public mind and the popular press act and react upon one another, the press setting its sails to catch every wind of public interest, and the public upon its part demanding to be supplied with all those departments of news to which at the moment it is specially attracted. Commercialism and competition have barred a large part of the press from its rightful office as

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leader and molder of opinion and have reduced it to the position of a clamorous applicant for public favor. The press, like everything else, is ruled by majorities, and in order to live it must cater to the weaknesses of popular majorities, it must reflect their prejudices, it must sustain their ill-formed judgments, and it must so sift and winnow the news of the day that the whims and the passions of the day shall be sustained. There are some newspapers and magazines that are honorably willing to represent only ripe thought and unbiased judgments, but they are not in the majority.

What verdict would the historian of the future pass upon the civilization of to-day if he were restricted to the files of our newspapers for his material? It must be confessed that we are to-day, in the hurry and tension of modern life, hardly in a better position for rendering verdicts than such an historian. Whatever we may suppose to be our attitude toward the press, with whatever scorn we may regard its baser features, it has an effect upon our minds far greater than we suppose. It is the steady drip of the water upon the stone that wears the stone away. It is the steady presentation of one aspect of human life, and that the lowest, that slowly jaundices our view and that produces either a rank pessimism or else an indignation against evil so strong as to efface judgment and to paralyze reason. Day after day we see human nature presented in its worst aspects, and only in its worst aspects. We see fraud, cupidity, tyranny, and violence paraded before us as being almost the only activities worth reporting. Dishonesty is offered to us as the prevailing rule of life, and we are asked to believe that the spirit of commercial oppression has allied itself with the machinery of government for the oppression of a nation. It is a dreary picture, a picture that, if faithfully drawn, would justify almost any remedial measures within human power, a picture that by the skill of its presentation arrests attention and almost compels belief.

That we so seldom compare the picture with the original

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is one of the anomalies of modern life. And yet the original is before us and around us all the time, inviting us to notice that it is only the exceptional that is reproduced with attractive skill and that it is only the abnormal that is emphasized with adroit arrangements of line and color. Day after day we read of sensational divorce cases; but there is not one line upon the tens of thousands of happy marriages upon which no cloud of discord ever falls. Day after day we read of the scandals of municipal government; but how often do we remember the great army of municipal officials who do their whole duty devotedly, courageously, unselfishly? Day after day we hear of corporation tyranny, corporation lawlessness, or corporation greed; but what recognition do we give to corporations that obey the laws, whose operations are above censure and who add immeasurably to the wealth of the country and to the prosperity of every citizen in it? With this constant presentation of depravity, this incessant harping upon the one string of human dishonesty, what wonder that our visions should be distorted or that we should exclude from our horizon almost everything but the sinister features of modern life! What wonder that the young men and women should look at the career before them through an all-pervading fog of suspicion, or that the days ahead of them should seem to be filled with the struggle against a universal dishonesty!

It is from such illusions as this that we must free our ideals if we would do effective work for the world and for ourselves. There are real enemies enough without erecting imaginary windmills to tilt against. Frauds, depravities, tragedies surely await us, now as ever, but we shall be doubly armed against them if we look upon them as the exceptions and not the rule and if we draw strength from the great background of human virtue and honesty. And there is such a background, unchanging, resistent, resolute, even though the limelight of publicity be persistently directed upon the few sinister figures on the front of the stage. We cannot afford to lose our faith in human nature,

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we cannot afford to shut out the greater and the best part of life, or to gaze so persistently upon the abnormal that we can no longer see the normal and the ordinary. Let us cultivate our sense of ethical values and of ethical perspective rather than crouch behind a shrub until it looks like a forest.

We are indebted to our commercialized newspapers and magazines for our distorted views of human life and for the cynicism that it is the momentary fashion to affect, but that is always disfiguring to the mind that harbors it. Certainly we can get no such views and no such cynicism from our own experience or from personal knowledge of the men and women who surround us. Honesty is a more familiar sight than dishonesty. All the common and familiar processes of our daily life are based upon an expectation of honesty, and if you will stop to consider for a moment you will see that those processes could not go on without that expectation. And how seldom is it falsified! Sometimes of course there comes the jar of disappointment, but the fact that there is a jar shows that it is the exception and not the rule. However much we may talk of guarantees and safeguards and securities, however much we may talk of business method or instinct that takes nothing for granted, it remains a self-evident fact that we must take human honesty for granted, that we must assume that the man with whom we do business intends to do it rightly and honorably, that he is actuated by a settled principle of fair conduct that will work automatically, and that without this automatically working standard of behavior all our guarantees and safeguards and securities would really have very little value. It is the universal expectation of fair dealing that makes business possible, and, in fact, it is this universal expectation of good behavior that makes its breach sufficiently novel to be reported in the newspapers. If fraud and chicanery and violence were the order of the day, they would have no value as news. After twenty-nine years of dealing with human nature in a business where it is seen

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at its extremes—at its best and at its worst—I believe that the great majority of men and women in business are honest, and I am certain that if this were not so it would be impossible to carry on business. Take the statistics of the credit insurance business, a business that may be said to be based upon an assumption of human honesty; examine the statistics of the losses made in this business and you will find that these are but a small fraction of the total amount involved, and even this small proportion is chiefly due to errors of judgment or to causes in which dishonesty plays no part. Ask any banker how much he relies upon human honesty as an indispensable background to the ordinary precautions and safeguards of his business. Ask him what is his attitude toward a client whom he detects in a lie or in sharp practice, and he will tell you that he has no use for such a man. He would rather be without his business and free from all contact with those whose natural and innate sense of honesty is lacking. Go wherever you like, and you will find the same expectation, the same assumption of honesty. You will find that no business can be carried on without it. Whatever high and honorable ideals you may have formed you need have no apprehension that they will be scorned in the business world or that you will have to put them away to win success. It is in the business world that they will be valued, and even the mental equipment that you are now seeking will be less important to you, a lesser guarantee of success, than your sense of honor and truth and probity. When you reach the business world —and many of you perhaps will go into the great corporations that are now ceaselessly paraded before you as wolves and as public enemies—you will find there the same kind of human nature that you find here in college, the same estimation of probity and of fair dealing. If you do mean or underhand things, you will find that they are branded in the same way there as here. You will find that manliness and integrity are the rule and not the exception, and I will venture upon the prediction that when the time comes for

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you to look back upon your career you will see that there has been a steady improvement all along the line, just as those who are already able to look backward find that there has been an improvement since their own college days. But that will rest with yourselves, for the future is in your own hands. It is for you, gentlemen, to see that moral and ethical progress is unbroken.

Now let me say a word about the corporations of which we hear so much in the newspapers and magazines and that are so persistently represented as enemies of the community and as vampires that are sucking the life-blood of the nation. I think there may be plenty of room here for clarification of our views, and, indeed, we should all be better for it if we could give more precision to our thinking and free ourselves from the imputations that have been allowed to cluster around certain terms. You may be sure that I am under no inclination to defend criminality or wrong-doing or to deny their existence wherever they are actually to be found. There are criminal corporations just as there are criminal doctors, and lawyers, and clergymen. Wherever men are gathered together there you will find a certain number who are disposed to seek their personal advantage in reprehensible ways, but because some doctors and some lawyers and some clergymen are criminals we do not attach an imputation to their respective professions. We are content to say that there are black sheep in every flock and so pass on. But the newspapers and the magazines have seen fit to concentrate their attention upon the criminal or the illegal acts of certain individuals who belong to corporations and to explain those acts in a manner which often leads their readers to assume that the acts are an essential part of corporation business. As a result, the very word "corporation" has taken on a sinister meaning, and we are asked to look upon the corporations very much as the Rhine peasants used to look upon the robber barons who were accustomed to swoop down upon them and carry off their flocks. A corporation is absolutely nothing more than a

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partnership of individuals who prefer to do business under certain regulations imposed by the government. There is no difference between the corporate and the individual ways of doing business except a piece of stamped paper issued by the Secretary of State. The corporation is made up of individuals who have just the same ideas of honor as you have yourselves, who have just as much integrity, just as great a love of fair play. A man does not change his nature just because he turns his business into a corporation any more than he changes his nature because he moves from one street to another or from the first floor to the second. A corporation then is a combination of men that has been formed under the sanction of law to carry out certain projects that it would be difficult or even impossible to carry out in any other way. The men forming those corporations are just such men as we meet in daily life, no better and no worse, and therefore with all those normal inclinations toward honesty that we are conscious of possessing ourselves and that we are in the habit of finding in others. The fact that these men have formed themselves into a corporation is no more significant of evil than a combination or a partnership among doctors or laborers. It is a part of the spirit of the age, an age that is called upon to do great things, to develop vast natural resources, to feed and clothe great centers of population, and to undertake a hundred other enterprises too large for the strength of the individual.

I should like you to think over the real meaning of this term "corporation" in order that you may understand that it has no sinister significance whatever, that it is nothing more than a partnership that has registered itself under certain legal conditions for purposes that are laudable and honest. If you will do this, you will understand at once how senseless is the outcry against corporations as such and how absurd it is that any stigma of dishonesty should be placed upon a particular form of doing business that is exactly like other forms of doing business, with the addition

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of a legal registration. As I have already said, there are some corporations that break laws, or rather certain individuals who are parts of corporations and who break laws, just as there is a certain small proportion of lawbreakers in every section of every community. But that fact carries with it no reflection upon corporations as such, and when our sensational publications and politicians use the word "corporation" as though it were an alternative term for brigand or pirate they are simply assuming a public ignorance that may exist outside, but that certainly ought not to be found within, a university. They are taking advantage of a nearly universal disposition to believe one's self injured and are appealing not only to ignorance, but to a low form of cupidity and of mob greed. They would have no success in their crusade against corporations as such if there were any general understanding of the meaning of terms or if it were generally recognized that there are thousands of corporations in this State, and thousands in every State, against whom no whisper of wrong-doing has ever been raised and who are doing a useful work, of which every individual among us is a beneficiary, directly or indirectly.

Now it is not only in our definitions that we need to be precise and to think clearly. We have already seen the need of a better discrimination between the very few corporations that are accused of breaking the laws and the vastly greater number that we never hear of at all and that do their business as quietly and honestly as the baker or the butcher. If lawbreaking is to be found in the business of some corporations, it is incumbent upon us to determine just in what way the law is being broken, why it is being broken, what sort of law it is that is being broken, and how much moral turpitude or public wrong is involved. All these factors would be determined by a judge upon the bench before passing sentence upon the meanest malefactor, and yet we find that the public is constantly urged by the newspapers to pass sentences of ruin and confiscation upon

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corporations as a whole, with their tens of thousands of innocent stockholders, without any kind of inquiry and under the influence of uninformed passion.

There is no department of ethics more disputed than the meaning of abstract right and wrong, and as I am not talking either on philosophy or ethics I will ask you to accept just such common-sense definitions as can be applied to the business world and that may be usefully employed as a working basis. Commercial morality and honesty are determined by each community for itself in the light of its own special needs and point of evolution. To-day we hold many things to be wrong that were done by our forefathers with clear consciences, and on the other hand we now believe that many things are right that were held by our forefathers to be wrong. There was a time when slavery did not offend the most delicate conscience, and if we go still further back, we shall reach a time when theft was almost the only crime recognized and when wholesale murder was a virtue. Every age had its own standards, and it would be absurd to argue that an act was wrong if it received the sanction of the whole community. It was the communal conscience that determined all problems of right or wrong, and it is still the communal conscience that gives us our definitions of morality and honesty. Here, in my opinion, is where a great part of our trouble arises. The communal conscience has changed, and some things regarded as right and proper twenty years ago are frowned upon to-day. But business methods tend to become rigid and inelastic, and a sudden evolution of the public conscience leaves them in the rear. Then comes a sudden recognition of the disparity, and laws are passed to prevent the practices that formerly went unchallenged. Usually these laws are passed in a hurry and by politicians who have no clear grasp of the problem. As a result the laws are ineffective. That is to say, business, clinging conservatively to its familiar ways, finds a plan to continue those ways in spite of the laws passed to prevent them, and then public opinion,

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finding no relief, is angered,—not at the breaking of a law, but because the law itself was ill-designed and ineffective. In other words, public opinion has failed in its effort to force the individual to set aside his own interests for what public opinion considers to be the interests of the community. Public opinion in this country is not a steady and persistent force, as it is in some older communities. It moves spasmodically and after long periods of quiescence and usually under some stress of excitement, which prevents deliberation and therefore effectiveness. Law being more unwieldy than conditions, naturally lags behind them, and what we have to recognize is a change in conditions and in laws and not an outbreak of lawlessness. Another evil result from the impetuous way in which we make laws is that they are not enforced because they are not in harmony with the views of the community. The statute books of every State are encumbered with laws passed in moments of hysteria and never put into operation, or else allowed to lapse after a few months of confusion. Every newspaper in California, for example, breaks the law every day when it prints a news item without appending the name of the writer, and probably we are all of us breaking laws of which we have never heard. This sort of thing brings a law into contempt and robs it of the sacredness that should attach to it. The Sherman anti-trust law, for example, would bring the whole business of the country to a standstill if it were strictly enforced, and I believe it is not good to bring large and innocent sections of the community within the scope of a criminal law simply for the purpose of reaching a minute proportion whose methods are flagrantly bad. If the Sherman anti-trust law were enforced, it would have to be repealed at once, and I think honest traders have a right to complain of a law that makes them technical criminals and is enforced only against notorious wrongdoers. The law should be so framed as to reach only wrongdoers and to leave honest traders outside even its technical scope.

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President Roosevelt was emphatic in his declaration that he intended to enforce the Sherman anti-trust act, and during the four years beginning with 1902 his administration was active in that direction.

In 1906 he stated: "Combinations of capital, like combinations of labor, are a necessary element in our present industrial system. It is not possible completely to prevent them; and, if it were possible, such complete prevention would do damage to the body politic. It is unfortunate that our present laws should forbid all combinations, instead of sharply discriminating between those combinations which do good and those combinations which do evil.

"It is a public evil to have on the statute-books a law incapable of full enforcement, because both judges and juries realize that its full enforcement would destroy the business of the country; for the result is to make decent men violators of the law against their will and to put a premium on the behavior of the willful wrongdoers. Such a result, in turn, tends to throw the decent man and willful wrongdoer into close association, and in the end to drag down the former to the latter's level; for the man who becomes a law-breaker in one way unhappily tends to lose all respect for law and to be willing to break it in many ways. The law as construed by the Supreme Court is such that the business of the country cannot be conducted without breaking it."

But let it be admitted that there are cases where abuses exist and where methods of doing business that were harmless enough and even necessary enough a few years ago are now working hardship upon the public as a result of changed conditions. These abuses should be corrected; there is no question about that, and they will be corrected either by violent methods that will leave behind them a heritage of bitter resentments and wrongs, or by the way of a real statesmanship that will recognize only facts and that will do justice by methods that are themselves just. For a long time to come this correction will be the greatest

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of all problems confronting the statesmanship of our day, a problem that must try our patience and our capacity for self-government. Do not imagine that America stands alone on this perilous path of reform. All the countries of civiliaztion stand in the same place. All are confronted with the same conflict between new ideals and old methods, between the spirit of to-day and the mechanism of yesterday. The problems of other countries arise from their own peculiar conditions just as our problems arise from our conditions, but their essence, their purport, is the same. And do not imagine that there is any one solution that can be applied or that there is any virtue in the sovereign cure-alls that are clamorously urged upon us by demagogues and by reformers who are eager to reform everything and everybody but themselves. There is no such panacea. It is to be found neither in municipalization, nor nationalization, nor confiscation, nor any of the nostrums advocated so wearisomely by sensation-mongers. There is indeed no hope for us except by laborious study of conditions and by an infinitely cautious advance from point to point, so that there may be no injustice, no concessions to prejudice, no incitements of class feeling, no embittering of relations that should be cordial as between citizens of the same republic, whose differences are infinitely small as compared with the well-being of a great nation. Of all the dangers that threaten the path of the reformer that of injustice is the greatest. It is better even that abuses should continue for a time longer than that they should be corrected by injustice and by the infliction of hardships upon those who are wholly innocent. Two wrongs can never make a right, and wherever we find a so-called reform that is based upon injustice be assured that we are only substituting one evil for another and that our last estate will be worse than our first. It would be impossible for one now to indicate the direction in which reforms should lie, and there is of course nothing human to which reform is impossible. But it is perhaps suitable that I should indicate some of the ways

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that can end in nothing but calamity, however alluringly and speciously they may be advocated. For example, there is neither good sense nor honesty in penalizing a corporation because some of its officials have done wrong. Wherever wrong has been done, the guilt is with some individual and not with the corporation as a whole. Find out who that individual is and let him answer to the law, but do not visit his misdeeds upon innocent stockholders who have had nothing whatever to do with the offense, who knew nothing of its commission and could have done nothing to prevent it if they had known. Remember that a penalty inflicted upon a corporation is actually inflicted not upon guilty persons but upon innocent investors.

Let me give an illustration of the so-called "reforms" that are recklessly urged upon us to-day and that are to be found in operation here and there throughout the country. I refer to the matter of street franchises. Now it may be true, it probably is true, that in many cases these franchises have become of great value and that they ought not to be granted without adequate return. But would it not be just to remember that when these franchises were originally granted they provided a service that was absolutely essential to the growth of the community and that those who obtained the franchises faced a serious risk to their capital and practically threw in their lot with the prospective welfare of the city? It is hard to realize how serious that risk sometimes was and how problematical were the returns. The shareholders in these street traction corporations are spread over the population and every class of the population is represented in them. They invested their money in good faith at a time when no question had ever been raised as to the propriety of these franchises and at a time when these franchises were considered to be for the public good and indubitably were for the public good. And I will ask you if it is honest to use all the machinery of the government, all the artifices of the politician to depreciate the value of those franchises, to threaten their

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holders with confiscation, to hamper and harass them by all the ways that are open to a democratically governed people? I say unhesitatingly that it is dishonest to do these things, and I will go so far as to say—believing as I do in the good faith of the great majority—that most of those who noisily advocate such measures would be ashamed to do so if they would but face the facts and understand what it is that they are actually doing and the wrong that they are inflicting upon innocent men and women. If mistakes have been made in granting franchises, then take care to avoid such mistakes in the future; but do not enter into a bargain that seemed advantageous to yourselves and then repudiate it when you find that it is not so advantageous as you thought. There is no way to reconcile such a thing with common honesty, and it is in no way mitigated by the fact that it is done by a community and by means of a vote rather than by an individual and in the ordinary small affairs of life. We all know what we should say of the man who acted in this way toward ourselves personally, but in advocating some of the schemes that are now recommended to us by sensational politicians, newspapers, and magazines we are making ourselves responsible for a dishonesty far greater than the evils that we are trying to remedy. Let us by all means reform whatever needs to be reformed, but let us do it with clean hands.

Now, I think that I have said enough to justify my belief that these great problems of our social life are not of a kind to be settled off-hand by violent or radical legislation. They are not to be settled by any one scheme or by any one plan. The only way to approach them is by careful and conscientious thought, a minute examination of the facts at first hand and a rigid determination to act toward corporations and business interests in general in the same spirit of unswerving honesty that you would wish to display toward a comrade or a friend and that you would wish to be displayed toward yourselves. You will find that honesty is the royal road to success in commercial life, and

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it is also the royal road to all reform in our communal life. Do not go out into the world with any expectation that you will be required to surrender the ideals that you have formed in your youth, or that you will be asked to choose between honor and success. Those ideals will be the greatest capital with which you can be endowed. They will attract to you everything that makes life desirable, and without them you can have neither self-respect nor the respect of others.

And as a last word let me recommend you not to be carried away by those gusts of prejudice and passion that sweep periodically through the community. There is a contagion in these things that it is hard to resist, and much that to-day passes for thought is not thought at all, but merely the automatic unreflecting acceptance of wild theories that are enunciated with so much force that they seem to be almost axioms. Your study of history will show you that the world has always been subject to waves of emotion—sometimes religious, sometimes political—that seem for the time to carry everything before them. We are passing through such a wave now, a wave of intense unrest, of revolt against conditions that we ourselves have made, against methods that we ourselves have created and sanctioned. I advise you to look askance upon every movement that in the language of the day is called popular. Do not accept a theory or a doctrine because it is popular, but on the other hand do not reject it for that reason. Do not permit yourselves to be carried off your intellectual feet by indignation or by protest. Demand of every political theory that it stand and deliver its credentials, and before you allow it to pass into the realm of your adoption, see to it that you understand it in all its bearings and that you have traced its results so far as is possible to your foresight; let the final test be one of human justice and of honesty, and then with courage use your power to aid in the formation of public opinion, remembering that public opinion is after all the great controlling force.

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THE LAMENT OF CHARM OVER LOVE.

ARTHUR W. RYDER.

(In obedience to the bidding of the gods, Love has tried to wound Shiva with a flowery arrow and awaken his longing for the daughter of Himalaya. But the rash attempt is dearly expiated; for Shiva, enraged at the interruption of his meditation, darts fire from his eye, whereby Love is consumed. The wife of Love, whose name is Charm, falls in a swoon; upon recovering, she laments over the ashes of dead Love. The lamentation of Charm over Love forms the fourth canto of Kalidasa's epic poem, The Birth of the War-god.)

The wife of Love lay helpless in a swoon,
  Till wakened by a fate whose deadliest sting
Was preparation of herself full soon
  To taste the youthful widow's sorrowing.

Her opening eyes were fixed with anxious thought
  On every spot where he might be, in vain,
Were gladdened nowhere by the sight she sought,
  The lover she should never see again.

She rose and cried aloud: "Dost thou yet live,
  Lord of my life?" And at the last she found
Him whom the wrathful god could not forgive,
  Her Love, a trace of ashes on the ground.

With breaking heart, with lovely bosom stained
  By cold embrace of earth, with flying hair,
She wept and to the forest world complained,
  As if the forest in her grief might share.

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"Thy beauty slew the pride that maidens cherish;
Perfect its loveliness in every part;
I saw that beauty fade away and perish,
Yet did not die. How hard is woman's heart!

Where art thou gone? Thy love a moment only
Endured, and I forever need its power;
Gone like the stream that leaves the lily lonely,
When the dam breaks, to mourn her dying flower.

Thou never didst a thing to cause me anguish;
I never did a thing to work thee harm;
Why should I thus in vain affliction languish?
Why not return to bless thy grieving Charm?

Of playful chastisements art thou reminded,
Thy flirtings punished by my girdle-strands,
Thine eyes by flying dust of blossoms blinded,
Held for thy meet correction in these hands?

I loved to hear the name thou gav'st me often
'Heart of my heart.' Alas! It was not true,
But lulling phrase, my coming grief to soften:
Else in thy death, my life had ended, too.

Think not that on the journey thou hast taken
So newly, I should fail to find thy track;
Ah, but the world! The world is quite forsaken,
For life is love; no life, when thee they lack.

Thou gone, my love, what power can guide the maiden
Through veils of midnight darkness in the town
To the eager heart with loving fancies laden,
And fortify against the storm-cloud's frown?

The wine that teaches eyes their gladdest dances,
That bids the love-word trippingly to glide,
Is now deception; for if flashing glances
Lead not to love, they lead to naught beside.

And when he knows thy life is a remembrance,
Thy friend the moon will feel his shining vain,
Will cease to show the world a circle's semblance,
And even in his waxing time, will wane.

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Slowly the mango-blossoms are unfolding
On twigs where pink is struggling with the green,
Greeted by Koïl-birds sweet concert holding—
Thou dead, who makes of flowers an arrow keen?

Or weaves a string of bees with deft invention,
To speed the missile when the bow is bent?
They buzz about me now with kind intention,
And mortify the grief which they lament.

Arise! Assume again thy radiant beauty!
Rebuke the koïl-bird, whom nature taught
Such sweet persuasion; she forgets her duty
As messenger to bosoms passion-fraught.

Well I remember, Love, thy suppliant motion,
Thy trembling, quick embrace, the moments blest
By fervent, self-surrendering devotion—
And memories like these deny me rest.

Well didst thou know thy wife; the springtime garland,
Wrought by thy hands, O charmer of thy Charm!
Remains to bid me grieve, while in a far land
Thy body seeks repose from earthly harm.

Thy service by the cruel gods demanded,
Meant service to thy wife left incomplete,
My bare feet with coquettish streakings banded—
Return to end the adorning of my feet.

No, straight to thee I fly, my body given,
A headlong moth, to quick-consuming fire,
Or e'er my cunning rivals, nymphs in heaven,
Awake in thee an answering desire.

Yet, dearest, even this short delay is fated
Forevermore a deep reproach to prove,
A stain that may not be obliterated,
If Charm has lived one moment far from Love.

And how can I perform the last adorning
Of thy poor body, as befits a wife?
So strangely on the path that leaves me mourning
Thy body followed still the spirit's life.

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I see thee straighten out thy blossom-arrow,
The bow slung careless on thy breast the while,
Thine eyes in mirthful, sidelong glance grow narrow,
Thy conference with friendly Spring, thy smile.

But where is Spring? Dear friend, whose art could fashion
The flowery arrow for thee? Has the wrath
Of dreadful Shiva, in excess of passion,
Bade him, too, follow on that fatal path?''

Heart-smitten by the accents of her grief
Like poisoned darts, soothing her fond alarm,
Incarnate Spring appeared, to bring relief
As friendship can, to sore-lamenting Charm.

And at the sight of him, she wept the more,
And often clutched her throat, and beat her breast;
For lamentation finds an open door
In the presence of the friends we love the best.

Stifling, she cried: ''Behold the mournful matter!
In place of him thou seekest, what is found?
A something that the winds of heaven scatter,
A trace of dove-gray ashes on the ground.

Arise, O Love! For Spring knows no estranging,
Thy friend in lucky hap and evil lot;
Man's love for wife is ever doubtful, changing;
Man's love for man abides and changes not.

With such a friend, thy dart, on dainty pinion
Of blossoms, shot from lotus-fibre string,
Reduced men, giants, gods to thy dominion—
The triple world has felt that arrow sting.

But Love is gone, far gone beyond returning,
A candle snuffed by wandering breezes vain;
And see! I am his wick, with Love once burning,
Now blackened by the smoke of nameless pain.

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In slaying Love, fate wrought but half a slaughter,
For I am left. And yet the clinging vine
Must fall, when falls the sturdy tree that taught her
Round him in loving tenderness to twine.

So then, fulfil for me the final mission
Of him who undertakes a kinsman's part;
Commit me to the flames (my last petition)
And speed the widow to her husband's heart.

The moonlight wanders not, the moon forsaking;
Where sails the cloud, the lightning is not far:
Wife follows mate, is law of nature's making,
Yes, even among such things as lifeless are.

My breast is stained; I lay among the ashes
Of him I loved with all a woman's powers;
Now let me lie where death-fire flames and flashes,
As glad as on a bed of budding flowers.

Sweet Spring, thou camest oft where we lay sleeping
On blossoms, I and he whose life is sped;
Unto the end thy friendly office keeping,
Prepare for me the last, the fiery bed.

And fan the flame to which I am committed
With southern winds; I would no longer stay;
Thou knowest well how slow the moments flitted
For Love, my love, when I was far away.

And sprinkle some few drops of water, given
In friendship, on his ashes and on me;
That Love and I may quench our thirst in heaven
As once on earth, in heavenly unity.

And sometimes seek the grave where Love is lying;
Pause there a moment, gentle Spring, and shower
Sweet mango-clusters to the winds replying;
For he thou lovedst, loved the mango-flower."

As Charm prepared to end her mortal pain
In fire, she heard a voice from heaven cry,
That showed her mercy, as the early rain
Shows mercy to the fish, when lakes go dry:

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"O wife of Love! Thy lover is not lost
Forevermore. This voice shall tell thee why
He perished like the moth, when he had crossed
The dreadful god, in fire from Shiva's eye.

When darts of Love set Brahma in a flame,
To shame his daughter with impure desire,
He checked the horrid sin without a name,
And cursed the god of love to die by fire.

But Virtue interceded in behalf
Of Love, and won a softening of the doom:
'Upon the day when Shiva's heart shall laugh
In wedding joy, and find for mercy room,

He shall unite Love's body with the soul,
A marriage-present to his mountain bride.'
Clouds hold both fire and water in control:
Gods are the fount of wrath, and grace beside.

So, gentle Charm, preserve thy body sweet
For dear reunion after present pain;
The stream that dwindles in the summer heat,
Is reunited with the autumn rain."

Invisibly and thus mysteriously
The thoughts of Charm were turned away from death;
And Spring, believing where he might not see,
Comforted her with words of sweetest breath.

The wife of Love awaited thus the day,
Though racked by grief, when fate should show its power,
As the waning moon laments her darkened ray
And waits impatient for the twilight hour.

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CARMEN CHRISTI NATI MEMORIAE SACRVM*

SCRIPSIT LATINE ET ANGLICE
LEO L. RICHARDSON

Hac nocte nobis nascitur,
Caelo sereno, candida
Inter minora lumina
Lux alba qua salvabimur.
Tuere, pastores, uti
Iam stella clare fulgeat,
Vestros gradus ad se trahat!
Tuere, reges splendidi!
Beata gens mortalium,
Laudate caelestem Deum!

Hac nocte Christus nascitur,
Cubile cuius visitant
Iam rustici; reges sacrant,
Aurum ferentes atque ebur.
Nosmetque praediti fide
Eum, qui servat perditos
Viaeque rectae nescios,
Pio sequemur pectore.
Beata gens mortalium,
Laudate caelestem Deum!

Hac nocte regnum nascitur
Caeleste. Tandem semitam
Salvationis caelicam,
O debiles, nanciscimur:
Nam gloriosi filius
Dei benignus advenit
Ac iam redempturus regit
Terras et humanum genus!
Beata gens mortalium,
Laudate caelestem Deum!

* This ode was sung by the Loring Club December 13, 1910, the music being composed by Mr. Wallace A. Sabin.

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ENGLISH VERSION.

This night a wondrous light is born
And set upon its azure way,
To shine among the lesser lights
And herald peace on earth for aye.
Behold, ye shepherds, how the star
Above the eastern hills now flings
Its ray and beckons on your steps!
Behold it, too, ye splendid kings!
Thrice happy O humanity,
Sing praises unto God on high!

This night the Savior Child is born.
Already swains are bending nigh
Their steps, and kings are bringing gifts
Of gold and precious ivory.
And we, long poor and void of hope,
Long wandering from the way apart,
Now guided by a living faith,
Will follow Him with loyal heart.
Thrice happy O humanity,
Sing praises unto God on high!

This night a kingdom fair is born.
At last, O frail humanity,
We tread the path whereby the soul
May mount to heaven's serenity.
For lo, the holy Son of God
Hath come, by heaven's benignant plan,
To rule the kingdoms of the earth
And save the wayworn son of man!
Thrice happy O humanity,
Sing praises unto God on high!

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THE SERFS OF CHILE AND THEIR EMANCIPATION.

BERNARD MOSES.

Spain's plan of colonizing America, in contrast with that of England, involved the adoption of the Indians as a constituent part of Spanish-American society. In the execution of this plan it was natural that ideas prevailing in Europe, with respect to the relation of social classes to one another, should be carried to the New World. A form of feudalism became, therefore, practically inevitable. The Indian's lack of the knowledge and cultivation required for independence in civilized society marked him either for disappearance, as under the English regime, or for serfdom or slavery under Spanish rule. The system of encomiendas was adopted to secure the domination of the Spaniards, on the one hand, and the subjection of the Indians on the other; and the Indians were held as vassals, while their Spanish superiors were known as *feudatarios*, or *comendadores*. On assuming authority as an encomendero over his vassals, the Spaniard took an oath,[1] in which he swore "to be a faithful and loyal vassal to our lord the king and to his successors in these and his other kingdoms, and to place himself under the royal standard whenever he might be summoned, and to defend it even to the sacrifice of his

[1] Oath of Don Alonso Campofrio de Carvajal on taking possession of the encomienda of La Ligua; see Amunátegui Solar, *Las Encomiendas de Indíjenas en Chile*, Santiago, 1909, I, 70; also, *Mayorazgos i Titulos de Castilla*, III, 398.

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life, doing all that which a good and loyal vassal of his Majesty is obliged to do."

The main purpose of the feudal system in Chile, however, was not to provide the king with a body of loyal warriors, as in the case of European feudalism, and as implied in the oath; but rather by this means to take possession of territory, subjecting the natives to obedience and employing them to construct houses and fortifications, to cultivate the land, to exploit mines, and to render all kinds of service within the colony.[2]

In Europe the vassal belonged to the same race as his feudal lord, but in America he was of an alien and subjugated race. The sentiment of racial kinship helped at times to ameliorate the fate of the European vassal; but in America the gulf which separated the two classes was so wide that the hardships or sufferings of the members of the lower class awakened in their masters, except in rare cases, no sentiments of sympathy or compassion. In establishing the system in America, it was designed that the fiefs should not be perpetually hereditary, as in Europe, but that the Indians should be bound for a specified number of generations. In practice, however, the law involving this provision was ignored, and the feudalism of Chile, and of Spanish South America generally, tended in this respect to assume the European form. A period of two lives was an ordinary term of a royal grant, or of an encomienda; but grants for three, four, five, or even nine generations were not uncommon, and the essential characteristics of the feudal relation were continued indefinitely.

The work in which the Indian dependents were employed is sufficiently revealed by the nature of the industries in the early decades of the colonies. Santiago was the most important early center of European civilization in Chile. Serena was prosperous in the beginning, but later it suffered much from incursions of pirates. Concepcion became prominent as the headquarters of the forces sent against the

[2] Ibid, I, 73.

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Araucanians, but after the death of Valdivia it was temporarily abandoned. In and about Santiago were developed the beginnings of Chile's industrial life, which was devoted chiefly to providing food and clothing, constructing houses, and repairing arms. Here at the foot of San Lucia was built the first mill. Here were made tiles and adobes for the roofs and walls of houses that were erected after the original buildings, which were covered with grass or straw, had been burned.

In the course of time the industries requiring more experience and skill than the Indians could readily acquire were generally conducted by persons who came from Europe. Conspicuous among the early manufacturers was Jerónimo Molina. In connection with an Italian named Anton Galan, he established a mill for making cloth. Another person engaged in a similar undertaking was Juan Jufré. The laborers in these establishments, and in those for making pottery, were chiefly Indians. The early success of the cloth mills was in large part due to the skill and facility which the Indian operators acquired. Their economic advantage was based on the fact that their products had an extended market. In spite of the prohibition of intercolonial trade, cloth from Chile was sent to Panama, Cartagena, and all the towns of Tierra Firme, as well as to Tucuman, Buenos Aires, and even to Brazil. In the last half of the sixteenth century central Chile had several establishments for making cordage, some part of which at least was used in equipping the ships that were built at some of the southern ports, for defense and for trading along the coast.

The need of communicating with Peru by sea led to the beginning of ship-building in Chile. Antonio Nuñez began the construction of ships as early as 1554. He had acquired extensive landed estates near Santiago and Valparaiso, and established a shipyard at Concon. He built the first warehouses at Valparaiso, and carried on trade with Peru in his own ships. He organized the fishing

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industry, and secured certain privileges with respect to supplying fish to the city of Santiago. But the industry which especially attracted the Spaniards, and excited their zeal was placer mining for gold. It is possible that the accounts given by some of the early chroniclers concerning the amount of gold obtained are greatly exaggerated; but a distinguished Chilean writer has reached the conclusion that this was the most productive industry of the colony, and that it was made so by the gratuitous and indefatigable labor of the natives.

In this as in all other industries the Spaniards had, under the law of encomiendas, complete control over the labor of the Indians, and both men and women were obliged to work at this form of mining; and wherever the relation provided for by this law existed, it may be inferred from the fact itself that there would be abuses by the superiors, and cruelties of which the inferiors would be the victims. The king of Spain apparently foresaw that evils would arise under the system of encomiendas, and, before the conquest of South America, provided by law that the Indians should be well treated by the encomenderos. Some of these provisions were: 1, that no Indian should become the bearer of burdens, either willingly or unwillingly, with pay or without it; 2, that no encomendero should have in his house, for his service or for other purpose, Indians from the towns of the repartimiento; 3, that no person should employ the Indians for carrying goods from the seaports to any town, and if they might be willing to undertake this work they should not be permitted to do it; 4, that the provision prohibiting the enslaving of the Indians should be observed and carried out; 5, that the encomenderos should not employ the Indians of their repartimientos at the times when the Indians might wish to prepare their land and plant their crops; 6, that those who employed Indians in their mines should provide priests to teach them the Christian doctrine, and to celebrate mass for them on Sundays and holidays; 7, that they should not

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take the Indians from their districts, even if the Indians might be willing to be transferred.

This law was violated from the beginning. The order relating to slavery was so far disregarded that the Indians whose services were profitable were in reality slaves, whatever they might be called. From the beginning, moreover, the Indians were employed as carriers, as if they were beasts of burden, carrying goods in all directions, and especially over the bad trail between Santiago and the port of Valparaiso. Disregarding the decree, the encomendero employed in his personal service all the Indians of his repartimiento, old and young, and often under conditions more unfavorable than those of slavery.

A still worse evil appeared in the encomendero's practice of renting his Indians to persons who had need of their labor. This practice was specifically condemned by royal order, but, like many other commands issued with reference to affairs in America, this order had but little effect. In spite of the illegal character of the transaction, persons did not hesitate to make a record of it in their wills.[3]

The law prohibiting the taking of Indians from their districts not having proved effective, a later decree, signed at Talavera in 1541, ordered that the Indians should not be transferred, even within their own country, from the cold region where they had been born, to the hot region, or from the hot to the cold districts.[4] In founding Santiago, there was a direct violation of the rule which this decree sought to enforce. The Indians who had occupied the sight of the existing city of Santiago were removed to other lands. Some of them were taken by Francisco de Aguirre to Serena to be employed in his placer mines.

[3] Doña Marina Ortiz de Gaete's will furnishes an instance: "Item, declaro que tiene Juan de Azócar, vecino de este ciudad, once indios de mi encomienda, alquilados por un año, en cien pesos de buen oro, i cien fanegas de trigo, i cincuenta de maiz o lo que fuese, i cincuenta de cebada, i veinte carneros, de los cuales declaro me ha dado los diez. Mando se averigüe, i que se cobre del dicho Juan de Azócar todo lo sobredicho."—Medina, *Documentos Inéditos*, X, 338.

[4] Encinas, *Provisiones, cedulas*, etc., IV., 280-281.

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It was admitted both in Spain and America that the bulk of the manual labor in the Spanish colonies, both in mining and agriculture, was to be performed by Indians. While mining was largely absorbing the attention of the colonists, an effort was made to fix by law the period during which the Indians might be employed, the design of this legislation being to release them from work in the mines for such a term as might be needed for the cultivation of the land on which they depended for their support. The period of work in the mines was called the *demora,* and lasted six or eight months, usually embracing the winter months, on account of the lack of water in the summer. In Chile, in 1555, the *demora* ended at the beginning of October. In that year the cabildo of Santiago fixed a penalty of five hundred dollars for continuing the work in the mines beyond this period. But avarice often prevailed over law.

It was in the mines, even when the work was not continued beyond eight months in the year, that the Indians suffered their greatest hardships. They were crowded together in great numbers, and worked from week to week and from month to month standing knee-deep in water throughout the coldest season of the year. "Encomendero Rodrigo de Quiroga," to quote an old chronicle, "had six hundred Indians of his repartimiento in the mines, half of them men and the other half women, all from fifteen to twenty-five years of age, and all employed in washing for gold during eight months of the year, on account of having no water in the four other summer months."[5] In 1553, Francisco de Victoria, writing to the Council of the Indies, affirms that at the mines "there is neither Christianity nor charity, and the abominations cry to heaven. Each encomendero puts into the mines his Indians, men and women, old and young, without giving them any rest or more food during the eight months of the year in which they work than a pint of maize a day; and the person who does not produce the quantity of gold which is required of him,

[5] *Historiadores de Chile,* VI, 75.

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receives blows with a club or lashes, and if any one hides a grain of gold he is punished by cutting off his nose and ears and exposing them nailed to a pole."[6]

The cruelties imposed upon the Indians in the mines and the manufacturing establishments could not continue indefinitely without calling forth voices of protest. At the same time the large interests which the Spaniards had in the various means of exploitation made it certain that the existing profitable practices would be stoutly defended.

In the train of García Hurtado de Mendoza, on his expedition to take possession of the governorship of Chile, there were three priests, the Dominican friar, Jil Gonzalez, Juan Gallegos, and the licentiate Vallejo. Before they left Peru, Gonzalez was known for his zeal in behalf of the Indians, and he continued his propaganda in their favor as soon as he arrived in Chile. He wished to persuade the governor to put off his campaign against the Araucanians, and enter into negotiations with them. He wished to persuade him, moreover, in the meantime to liberate the Indians from the severe service imposed upon them by the encomenderos. Gallegos, on the other hand, counselled war and the immediate execution of Mendoza's policy. The young governor, then only twenty-two, was eager for conquest and the distinction of a successful campaign, and was fully determined to follow the course advocated by Gallegos. At Serena he allowed the debate to proceed publicly concerning the merits or demerits of the proposed war. After they had advanced farther towards the south, the governor and the two priests held a conference, which ended in a noisy controversy. Mendoza held that it would be advisable to subjugate the Indians at once, to make war on them before they could fortify themselves; and he claimed that by this means fewer would be killed than in a campaign undertaken after long delay. Gallegos supported the views of the governor as consistent with the teachings of Saint Thomas. A noteworthy feature of this

[6] Barros Arana, *Historia Jeneral de Chile*, I, 412.

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series of events was that a priest was allowed to harrangue the officers and soldiers in opposition to the plans which the governor had determined to carry out.

Gonzalez was finally permitted to retire, and after this event the dominant influences in the forces at the front were not such as to favor a considerate treatment of the Indians, either of those who were still unsubdued or of those who had been brought into subjection to encomenderos. In Santiago Gonzalez continued his public protests against the cruelty of the Spaniards; and the opposition which he aroused threatened the support of the monastery which he had founded. For the purpose of correcting some of the observed abuses, royal decrees were published which provided that in those cases where it was permitted to use the Indians as carriers, their burden should never exceed fifty pounds; that the encomenderos should not employ more than a fifth part of their Indians in the mines; and that the Indians should receive, free from all obligations, the sixth part of the gold produced.

The feudalism of Chile was scarcely established before a movement was instituted to emancipate the subjugated class; and the later history of the system is the history of a controversy between the interested encomenderos and the humanitarian champions of the serfs. The report of Santillan, after his investigations, indicate his views of what should be done to improve the status of the Indians under the encomenderos. In order to secure the payment of the sixth of the gold which belonged to the Indians, and its proper investment for their profit, it was considered advisable that there should be appointed in Santiago and in Serena two persons, one by the cabildo and the other by the justicia mayor, who in agreement with the encomenderos and priests of the encomienda, should invest the gold in clothing, wool, cattle, and other things of which the natives might have need. The cattle thus acquired should be placed under the care of the encomenderos, after they had been publicly registered, and the encomendero should ren-

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der an account of the animals that had been delivered to him and of their increase. In order to prevent the encomenderos from diverting to their own advantage the gold taken from the mines, without paying the royal fifth, and the sixth due to the Indians, it was provided that all the gold mined should be immediately taken to the existing mints of the country; that the Spaniards might not form contracts among themselves for the payment of unminted gold; and that the merchants alone should be authorized to make sales to the natives payable in gold dust to the amount of ten dollars. Under these regulations proposed by Santillan, the encomenderos were to be permitted to employ bands of negroes in washing for gold; and the Indians were to be allowed to wash for gold on their own account, and they might also cultivate certain tracts of land in company with the encomenderos, who should furnish plows and allow the Indians a third part of the crop.[7]

The encomenderos naturally resented these and all other attempts to subject their treatment of the Indians to restrictive regulations. Juan Jufré employed Indians in his mill without wages. The Indians who worked in the ropewalk of Juan Bautista Pastene received no compensation for their labor. The proposed regulations of Santillan found more favor with the Council of the Indies than with the audiencia of Lima. The Council ordered Mendoza's successor, Governor Villagrán, to cause the established regulations to be carried out, and at the same time appointed a commission consisting of Villagrán, the bishop of Santiago, and two priests to report on the advantages and disadvantages that would be produced in the country by the execution of the ordinances of Santillan. The Council, moreover, ordered the new governor to oblige the encomenderos to employ negroes in the gold mines. But this order could not be carried out on account of the lack of negroes and the poverty of those persons who were expected to purchase them.

[7] Amunátegui Solar, *Las Encomiendas*, I, 185-187.

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Neither the royal decrees, nor the orders of the governors, nor the rules of Santillan put an end to the abuses of the encomenderos in their treatment of the Indians. The main reason for the ineffectiveness of these orders and rules was their revolutionary character as judged from the viewpoint of the society that was establishing itself in the Spanish colonies. The dependence and practical slavery of the Indians constituted the vital feature of this society. This relation was involved in the ideal under which Spanish-American society came into existence. The Spanish settlers had not come, like the settlers in New England, to form a complete society by themselves, but rather to be one social class, a dominating class, while the Indians were expected to constitute another class, a class in some form of subjection.

At the beginning of 1562, the treasury of Spain had great need of funds, and to secure them the king proposed to have the encomiendas converted into fiefs in perpetuity, the holders of which should make to the crown contributions proportionate to the rights they were to acquire. The views of the cabildos of the principal towns were sought concerning the proposed change; and in reply they affirmed the advisability of giving perpetuity to the system. The governor of Chile, however, reported to Lima that it would not be desirable to make the change until the following year, 1563. But in the meantime the governor died, and the proposed plan was indefinitely postponed.

The most important results of the agitation for setting aside the hardships and cruelties imposed upon the Indians by the encomenderos was the series of rules published by Pedro de Villagrán, completing or supplementing those that had been previously issued by Santillan. These rules present the ideas of those persons who aimed to remove the abuses of the system of encomiendas:

"1. Henceforth, the *demora* shall be only for six months. In the jurisdictions of Santiago and Serena, embracing the cities of Mendoza and San Juan, gold shall not be mined,

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except in March, April, May, June, July, and August; and in the other parts of the country in November, December, January, February, March, and April.

"2. The rule according a sixth of the gold to the Indians shall be re-established in all its force, as also the guarantees ordered by Santillan in their favor.

"3. In view of the evil results of the mingling of the negroes with the Indians in the work of mining, the introduction of negroes as inspectors in the repartimientos shall be prohibited; the penalty being that the encomenderos, for the first violation of the rule, shall pay, for the benefit of the Indians, one hundred dollars in gold, and for the second two hundred dollars. Besides, each of the negroes shall receive a hundred lashes. For the third offense, the encomenderos shall lose their slaves, and shall be deprived of their repartimientos for three years.

"4. The protector of the Indians, and the priest appointed for the purpose of teaching them the Christian doctrine, shall use the product of the sixths in acquiring sheep for their wards; and, before an officer of the court, shall turn these animals over to the encomenderos, who shall be obliged to render an account annually of the state of the flock.

"5. This account shall be received by the protector and the priest 'both together, and not the one without the other.' The same protector and priest were authorized to distribute among the Indians as many sheep as they thought advisable.

"6. The protector and the priest shall make effective the responsibility of the encomenderos whenever they become delinquent, and even take from them the care of the flock, and commit it to proper persons without prejudice to the institution of judicial proceedings in the case against the delinquents.

"7. The protector and the priest shall visit together every six months the repartimientos of the district committed to their care, and shall inform themselves concerning

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the treatment accorded to the Indians, and concerning the execution of the laws, and send a detailed report to the governor, to the end that justice may be done.

"8. In each district there shall be appointed a protector and a priest. The protector shall be selected by the governor of Chile from persons of strictly Christian character; and the priest shall be the superior of the monastery of Saint Francis, or, indeed, some other Franciscan designated by the order, in case there shall be a local establishment of the order, or, in the absence of any such establishment, then the parish priest, or a priest of prestige of another order than the Franciscan, until this order shall be established in the district.

"9. The protector shall be given a salary fixed by the governor, which shall be paid by halves by the Indians and by the encomenderos, although it shall by preference be deducted from the product of the penalties established by this law.

"10. Annually an account shall be taken of the manner in which the protectors shall have performed their duties, and they shall be punished if found delinquent.

"11. In the first visit of each year the protector and the priest shall form, in connection with the encomendero, a list of the Indians of the repartimiento."

The regulations of Pedro de Villagrán, the main features of which are presented in the foregoing, were expected to bring relief to the Indians at several points. The *demora* was reduced from eight to six months; the negroes were no longer to be employed as foremen, or inspectors; and the number of protectors was increased. An obstacle to the execution of these rules was found in the fact that they ran counter to the plans and interests of the encomenderos. Through the increase of their flocks the Indians were nominally advancing to a position of greater advantage; but the Dominican friar, Gonzalez, scoffed at the idea that the Indians derived any real advantage from this source. If, as he assumed, "the wool and the flesh belonged to the

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encomenderos," the Indians were in reality owners only in name. Moreover, as opposed to the powerful encomenderos, the protectors found it practically impossible to perform their proper functions in an impartial manner.

Another difficulty in the way of a proper execution of the laws relating to the Indians, was found in the disposition of the governors to ignore the decrees of their predecessors. When Quiroga became governor in 1565, he practically annulled the rules of Pedro de Villagrán, and consequently those of Santillan. The governors, in their war with the Araucanians, had need of the support which the encomenderos were in a position either to give or to withhold. This circumstance naturally led the governors to overlook certain abuses which, under an impartial judgment, they would have tried to correct. In some cases where fines were imposed, the encomenderos appealed to a higher authority, with the result that no decision was rendered.

The Araucanian war, always a present danger, sometimes taxed to their limit the resources of the colony; and the king as well as the colonial authorities sought by all possible means to weaken the enemy. Philip II. favored sending the captured Araucanians as exiles to Peru. Governor Quiroga, however, held that those taken in war should be transferred to the jurisdictions of Santiago and Serena, to be employed in the mines. This plan was ultimately approved by the king. In the campaign of 1577, Governor Quiroga captured several hundred Indians, and in the following year he wrote to the king concerning his treatment of the prisoners as follows:

"I issued a decree, in which I commanded that there should be executed on these Indian prisoners the sentence of death which I had pronounced on them and the other rebels, which penalty I then ordered suspended; and in the meantime I ordered that these prisoners should be taken to the city of Serena, and that there one foot of each of them should be cut off, and they should be employed in the works

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of the gold mines, in order to contribute to the expenses of the war, and that the chiefs should be taken to the viceroy of Peru."[8]

Gregorio Sanchez was commissioned to govern the Indians who had been taken to the mines from the southern frontier. In March, 1578, he wrote to Toledo, the viceroy of Peru, and gave some account of his stewardship:

"The governor," he wrote, "has commanded me to take in charge and govern the Indians whom he exiled to this city of Serena; and their earnings which may constitute a contribution to the great expenses of the war; and, although his lordship had ordered their feet to be cut off, he has modified this to that which might appear to me, as having the knowledge of one present, as the most fitting for the service of His Majesty, and, indeed, for the Indians. When the Indians had arrived at this city, some of them wished to run away; and six or seven of them were taken and hanged, and the feet of fifty others were cut off."[9]

The disposition of the encomenderos to disregard the rules already proposed and to make an unwarranted use of their power over the Indians led to the attempt to substitute a fixed tribute for personal service. Governor Martin Ruiz de Gamboa, the successor of Quiroga, urged this reform, and was supported by the bishop of Santiago and some of the friars. The protectors of the Indians, on the other hand, instead of defending the Indians, united with the encomenderos to exploit them.

The rule respecting tribute to be paid by the Indians as published by Governor Gamboa, in 1580, provided that each Indian between the ages of seventeen and fifty should pay the sum of seven dollars, and grain, fish, fowls, or sheep to the value of two dollars, making the total annual payment nine dollars. Long accustomed to the service of the Indians without the obligation of payment, the Spaniards resisted the execution of this measure, which recognized to

[8] Amunátegui Solar, *Las Encomiendas*, I, 235.

[9] Printed in Amunátegui Solar, *Las Encomiendas*, I, 236-237.

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some extent the freedom of the Indian and his right to compensation for his services. In this, Gamboa had taken a position which could be maintained only after some centuries of progress; and in the meantime the encomenderos used all their influence to support their ideas and their practices. In complete control of the cabildos of the municipalities, the will of the encomenderos was likely to prevail. Supporting their views, a commission was sent to Peru to petition the royal audiencia of Lima to annul the rule of Gamboa. This tribunal, however, refused to make the required decision, and referred the peition to the Council of the Indies.

The encomenderos had apparently anticipated the action of the audiencia of Lima; for even before that body had referred the petition to the Council, they had instructed Ramiriañez Bravo de Saravia to defend their cause in Spain. While this question was under discussion the king appointed Alonso de Sotomayor to be governor of Chile. Whether through his friendly intercourse with Saravia, or through independent investigations, Sotomayor appears to have left Spain already opposed to the innovations of Gamboa; and in Chile he was intimately associated with Louis Lopez de Azócar, also a determined opponent of Gamboa's reforms. The influences proceeding from these and other sources were sufficient to cause the regulations of Gamboa to be abolished. The *demora* of eight months was re-established, and the Indians were continued in their miserable condition of bondage, from which, in fact, they had been given no practical relief under any of the projected changes. The sixth part of the gold mined, which was nominally set apart for the Indian, never became his in reality; and the cattle and sheep, which were said to belong to him, had no existence, except as an indistinguishable and, for him, an unrealizable part of the property of the encomendero. In one respect, however, the Indians of 1585 were better served than those of twenty-five or thirty years

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earlier; there were more priests essaying to teach them the Christian doctrines.

But the efforts of Sotomayor were not limited to providing religious instruction. He appointed his brother, Luis de Sotomayor, protector general of all the Indians of the country; and, in 1589, he appointed Martin de Zamora administrator general and defender of the Indians in the province of Santiago. With these appointments were set aside the previously existing protectors, who appear to have been, at least in many cases, unfaithful to the trust reposed in them. In making more tolerable the condition of the Indians employed in the mines, the governor was moved by an intelligent interest, not only in the Indians but also in the ecomenderos. By making more satisfactory regulations for the workers, he hoped that the incomes of the encomenderos might be increased, and that thereby they would be enabled to render him more efficient assistance in his campaigns and other undertakings.

Under the conditions then existing, the encomenderos were unable to offer the governor any very important support; and the authorities of Spain as well as of the viceroyalty of Peru refused to give the needed assistance. Sotomayor's successor, Martin García de Oñez y Loyola, turned his attention to relieving the Indians from their tyrannical masters. Still, it is to be noted that the salaries of the general administrator and the protector of the Indians were paid from the sixth of the gold mined and other property that nominally belonged to the Indians. The fact that what was said to be a possession of the Indians could be taken without their consent for the payment of political functionaries, would seem to indicate that their rights of property were of the flimsiest sort. In fact, with the progress of the Araucanian war, and the capture and sale of the Indians, the idea that the native was a person with rights tended gradually to disappear, and the idea that he was merely a chattel, to be more widely entertained. "The territory of the bishopric of Imperial had been converted into an

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immense fair for the sale of human beings, where the soldiers became rich by the sale of the Araucanians, and where the encomenderos and residents of Santiago and Serena sought household servants, and renewed the personnel of their encomiendas."[10] The personal interests and avarice of the Spaniards, and not the voice of the church or the designs of reformers were at this time giving direction to the course of social affairs, and determining the relation of the invaders to the natives.

But there came a change in the affairs of the Araucanians; victory gave them courage for new victories; and in the course of a few years, they overthrew and laid waste the cities of Arauco, Santa Cruz, Valdivia, Imperial, Angol, Villarica, and Osorno. The remaining cities of central and northern Chile at this time, the first decade of the seventeenth century, were of little importance. Serena had only forty-six houses; Santiago, the capital, had two hundred; Chillan, fifty-two; Concepcion, seventy-six; and Castro, twelve. About three-fourths of the houses in each city were little more than rude huts, with grass or straw roofs; while one-fourth had roofs of tiles. The center of the colony's affairs was evidently not the cities, but in the encomiendas, many of which were the antecedents of the great estates of modern Chile. These produced the wealth of the colony, and the encomenderos, the lords of the soil, constituted the dominant social and political element in the country. Rules touching their affairs were not likely to be carried out, except with their consent.

In spite of great practical difficulties, efforts were made from time to time to abolish the personal service of the Indians, to dissolve their feudal obligation, or reduce it to the payment of an annual fee, or tribute. The count of Monterey, when Viceroy of Peru in the first decade of the seventeenth century, appointed a commission, consisting of Juan de Villela, member of the audiencia, Doctor Acuña, *alcalde de corte*, Governor García Ramon, and two Jesuit

[10] Amunátegui Solar, *Las Encomiendas*, I, 287.

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priests, Luis de Valdivia and Francisca Coello. After certain inquiries, this commission reported the following recommendations:

"1. That all personal service should be abolished; 2, that the holders of repartimientos and Indians bound to personal service might avail themselves of the work of the Indians for two years, during which time they might be able to gather voluntary laborers; 3, that during this period all work in the mines should be suspended, and there should be paid to the Indians elsewhere engaged a daily wage fixed beforehand for their labor; 4, that a new rule respecting tribute should be published; 5, that the Indian prisoners held as slaves should be liberated, but the three hundred held in Lima should remain until the end of the war; 6, that negotiations should be had with the view of introducing negroes to replace the Indians."[11]

These recommendations received the enthusiastic support of the viceroy, and he ordered Governor García Ramon to carry them out. But it was found to be practically impossible to do this in Chile; for the Mapuche Indians of the encomiendas were averse to all kinds of work, and the encomenderos resisted all attempts to give them liberty; and at the end of the viceroy's reign the emancipation of the Indians of the encomiendas and peace with the Araucanians were apparently as far off as ever.

The two Jesuits who had helped to frame these recommendations, and who gave them their unqualified support, found their position inconsistent with the practice of the Jesuit institutions that were receiving forced service from the Indians. The conduct of these institutions in this respect was, moreover, inconsistent with the principles of the order, and it seemed to those in authority advisable to set an example of emancipation before urging emancipation on others. In keeping with this view, Diego de Torres, provincial of the Jesuits in Chile, issued an order liberating the Indians who had continued to render personal service

[11] Amunátegui Solar, *Las Encomiendas*, I, 317-318.

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to the college of San Miguel. They were given land for cultivation, cattle, and sufficient free time for work on their own account. They were to receive compensation for their labor on the days when they were employed by the Jesuits. This order was to take effect in 1608. Its complicated details were not fully understood by the Indians, and it is affirmed that the liberty granted was only nominal, and that the order had no other force than that of a promise to treat the Indians paternally, and to remunerate them fairly for their services. Yet this action of the Jesuits produced, if not alarm, at least a very disagreeable impression on the encomenderos, whose ill-will for the time being was turned against the Jesuits.[12]

The antagonism of the encomenderos, however, did not prevent the spread of an opinion in favor of reform. When the audiencia was established in Chile in 1609, the judges were instructed to abolish the personal service of the Indians; and in the beginning the members of the audiencia devoted more attention to this subject than to any other. But the passionate advocacy of reforms encountered an equally passionate opposition. The Jesuits, the bishop of Santiago, and a few of the encomenderos were ranged against the majority of the encomenderos, the cabildo of Santiago, and García Ramon, the governor of Chile. In order that the audiencia might be in a position to act wisely, a general meeting was called to enable it to consult with all parties interested. The discussion was long, but no agreement was reached. In the deliberations of the audiencia, after that body had learned the different views entertained concerning the question at issue, the opinion favoring the

[12] The antagonism between the Jesuits and the encomenderos existed elsewhere: "The encomenderos of Mendoza, Salta, Tucuman, and Cordova broke completely with the Jesuits, who preached against the slavery of the Indians, denouncing the corruption and cruelty of their masters. From this time the encomenderos separated themselves from all relations with the priests; with their families and servants, they deserted the churches where were proclaimed doctrines subversive of their interests, and suspended the contributions with which they had helped to support the Jesuit order."—Manuel R. García, in *Revista del Rio de la Plata*, I, 377.

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maintenance of personal service triumphed, the judges holding that they had not only to defend the Indians, but also to secure the wellbeing of the colony as a whole.

The reaction against the movement for emancipation appeared to be complete when Philip III. imposed slavery upon all Araucanians taken in war. The king's decree of slavery was opposed to the views of Governor García Ramon, and was not issued in Chile until after the governor's death, when it was published by his successor, Luis Merlo de la Fuente, on the 20th of August, 1610.

This decree was naturally acceptable to the encomenderos, since it furnished them a prospect of increasing the number of dependents on their encomiendas. But a little later this prospect was obscured by the announcement of a new policy respecting the Araucanians. This policy, first suggested by Juan de Villela, of the audiencia of Lima, involved a strictly defensive war on a specified line of the southern frontier, which was the river Biobio; and the defense of this line was to furnish protection to central Chile. It involved, moreover, the plan of a peaceful conquest of the Araucanians.

The decree establishing the new policy was issued in March 1612. Military operations were to be defensive, but the soldiers were to be maintained armed and equipped, and in such numbers as might be necessary. Christian doctrine should be carried to the Indians by Jesuit priests; and the Jesuit, Luis de Valdivia, as *visitador general* of the province of Chile, was commissioned to act with the governor in securing a proper execution and observance of this order. The previously published royal decree respecting the slavery of Indians taken in war was suspended; and the penalty of death was decreed for soldiers or officers who should pass beyond the line of defense. This decree also announced the abolition of personal service, and the establishment of a system of pecuniary tribute.[18]

The publication of this decree produced a serious state

[18] Rosales, *Historia Jeneral del Reino de Chile*, II, 527-544.

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of agitation and indignation throughout Chile. The soldiers and the encomenderos were especially affected. For the soldiers it substituted the stagnant life of garrisons for a life of adventure, plundering, the capture and sale of Indians, and all the license incident to warfare on a savage frontier. The encomenderos saw in the depletion and ultimate loss of their dependents, the destruction of their wealth, or their prospects of wealth, and the overthrow of the economic system, on which at this early period the society of Chile rested. The attempts made to execute the provisions of the decree abolishing personal service encountered an insurmountable obstacle in the impossibility of procuring voluntary laborers for the fields. In this connection appeared the perennial demand for the introduction of negroes; but neither the government nor individual persons were in a position to comply with this demand; and the plan for substituting a pecuniary tribute for personal service seemed still far from accomplishment in 1620.

In spite of this and all previous regulations, the encomenderos were generally disposed to consider their interests as their guide of action. Luis de Valdivia was, however, persuaded that the new policy might be maintained by an effective law. Towards the end of the second decade he appeared in Lima, where, as he affirmed, the viceroy "heard him for more than four months."[14] There was then formed a body of elaborate regulations which were signed on the 28th of March, 1620, by the prince of Esquilache, who was at that time the viceroy of Peru. A month later Valdivia left Callao for Spain. He went to report to Philip III. on the state of affairs in Chile, and to secure the royal confirmation of the Esquilachean regulations. The following provisions reveal the general character of these regulations:

1. The obligatory personal service of the Indians was abolished, and the Indians were declared to be free, except those who were more than ten and a half years old and who

[14] Amunátegui Solar, *Las Encomiendas*, I, 409.

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were taken in offensive war two months after the publication of these regulations; these should be held as slaves.

2. Neither the Indans living south of the garrisoned frontier nor those living in the Spanish camps of Biobio should be subject to encomenderos. All other Indians in Chile between the ages of eighteen and fifty should be subject to encomenderos and pay a tribute.

3. The amount of this tribute was different in different places. The amount generally stipulated was ten dollars, seven and a half for the encomendero, a dollar and a half for the priest, half a dollar for the corregidor, and half a dollar for the protector.

4. Work in the mines was prohibited, but the Indians might pay their tribute in agricultural labor, at a rate of wage fixed by ordinance.

5. Only a third of the Indians of an encomienda should be required to work in any given year. The other two-thirds might rest, or work for themselves, or work for others for hire. In case the encomendero did not wish to employ all of the third part of his Indians, he might rent the balance to another person, or to other persons.

6. The Indians of the repartimientos were required to live in reductions, or pueblos. Each reduction, or Indian pueblo, should have a league of land for cultivation or for buildings, and the encomendero should not pasture the land within a specified distance of the reduction.

7. The Indians having trades, such as carpenters, tailors, and shoemakers, should be exempt from service in the *mita*, but mere apprentices should not enjoy this exemption. Such skilled workmen might pay their tribute in money.

8. The Indians residing on the estates in the country, called in Chile *inquilinos*, were required to work on the estate one hundred and sixty days in the year. The owner of the estate should furnish them a piece of land, on which they might raise maize, barley, wheat, and vegetables; and he should lend them the oxen and implements necessary in

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undertakings with the permission of the governor. He revoked also the regulations respecting laborers skilled in the trades, and ordered that all the artisans of the encomiendas should serve in the *mita*. But these and other changes in the regulations of the viceroy were to have force only until the king should determine otherwise.

Several months before the date of this ordinance by Governor Osores de Ulloa, Philip IV. had approved the regulations of Esquilache, but with extensive modifications. One of these changes was a reduction of two dollars in the amount of the tribute. Another was the re-establishment of slavery in certain specified cases. But neither the regulations of Esquilache nor the royal decree based on them received the obedience of those to whom they were directed. In fact, the regulations decreed by Philip IV. were not known to the audiencia of Chile for three years after the date of their approval by the king; and, having no adequate support among the persons most influential in Chile, they were practically suspended.[15] Subsequently other regulations were formed and issued, but neither the earlier nor the later determined the actual relations that existed between the encomenderos and their dependents. The encomenderos constituted the most powerful class in the colony, and their interests determined a practice which became customary, and thus too thoroughly grounded to be set aside even by a decree of the king, or, much less, by an ordinance of a viceroy or a governor.

It is noteworthy that in this controversy, lasting through many decades, the will of the king, even when expressed in the solemn form of a royal decree, had very little influence in shaping the course of events respecting the encomiendas of Chile. The king wished to have the Indians gathered into towns or villages, and to be under no obligation to render personal service to the encomenderos. In this he was supported by the most influential members of the church in Chile. But the royal will could not prevail

[15] Gay, *Historia de Chile*, II, 351-352.

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their work of cultivation. The wage of these *inquilinos* should be a real a day, and this after the deduction of the tribute should be paid in clothing and the products of the estate.

9. The Indians working as domestic servants should be treated as free persons. The encomendero was obliged to furnish them food and quarters, and to provide for them when they were sick. After deducting the tribute, these persons should be paid an annual salary, ranging from twelve to sixteen dollars, which should be paid in clothing. But the Indians in domestic service might not be rented to other masters.

10. The corregidores should make an exact list of the Indians. For every two hundred Indians paying tribute, there should be established a curacy, and the Indians should be taught the catechism; and the curate should be required to keep a record of baptisms. And the Indians of each parish should be required to build a church with materials furnished by the owners of the neighboring estates.

Although the encomenderos found the regulations of Esquilache more favorable to their interests than the rules established by Governor Gamboa, they nevertheless opposed their execution. They objected to the prohibition of slavery; to the suppression of forced labor in the mines; to the limitation of the number of days in the year, on which the Indians would be required to work in the fields; to the privilege granted to the Indians to live in their reductions; and to the proposed domiciliary visits of the corregidores, who might liberate the Indians, if they were ill-treated by their masters.

But no policy was continued long. Governor Osores de Ulloa, as indicated in an ordinance issued September 8, 1622, held views that were in general favorable to the encomenderos. He suspended the provisions under which the Indians were to be prohibited from working in the mines, and ordered that they might be employed in these

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against the opposition of the encomenderos. In 1662 the decree which required the Indians to live in towns was confirmed by a decree of similar purport, but with very little effect. The Indian towns that had been established were declining; and the majority of the Indians in the conquered part of Chile lived on the estates of the encomenderos.

The main argument of the king was that in the towns the Indians could be given more effective religious instruction than elsewhere. The encomenderos, on the other hand, held that the Indians had not acquired a degree of civilization sufficient to enable them to live independently in towns or villages; that their experience and knowledge were inadequate to enable them to maintain themselves successfully in a society where the relations between the individual members were determined entirely by contract; and that, as there were no other laborers, the maintenance of the existing order was necessary to the preservation of the Spaniards, and, consequently, to the preservation of civilized life in Chile.

In spite of the enormous sums drawn from America, the royal treasury of Spain was always in need of increased revenues. For some time the king had viewed with covetous eye the advantages which the encomenderos had derived from their subjects, and, by a decree of July 20, 1720, he ordered that all unoccupied encomiendas in America, and those held by persons whose titles had not been confirmed, and those that might become vacant in the future, should be made tributary to the royal treasury.

This decree was designed especially to convert the tribute paid by the Indians of Mexico and Peru into a source of revenue for the crown. Its reference to Chile was unimportant, for in that colony the law requiring tribute from the Indians had only a very imperfect application. Moreover, the decree itself provided that in the encomiendas where the Indians rendered personal service, no change should be effected; and in Chile, in spite of scores of decrees

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and efforts of all sorts for reform, the system of personal service remained largely unmodified. But a few months later, in December of the same year, a new decree was issued, designed to put an end to the involuntary personal service hitherto rendered by the Indians to the encomenderos. This naturally produced a commotion among the encomenderos; but the cabildo of Santiago was still faithful, or rather was still controlled by the encomenderos, and caused a protest against the proposed action to be sent to the king. Then the governor of Chile, Gabriel Cano de Amonte, urged the audiencia to inform the king of the results that would follow the execution of this decree; but the audiencia took the ground that as the will of the sovereign was clearly manifest, there was no reason for delay. While, therefore, the governor was in Concepcion, in September, 1722, the audiencia, applying the royal decree, declared forfeited all vacant encomiendas, with the provision that their incomes should be turned into the royal treasury.

This action appeared to involve, on the part of the audiencia, a clear usurpation of the governor's prerogatives; but later the governor pointed out to the king the evil consequences that would flow from an abolition of the rights of the encomenderos, and the king was apparently moved by the governor's statement; for in July, 1724, he decided "that the Chilean encomiendas should not be incorported in the crown, as it has been ordered."

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, the enlightenment which effected important social changes in Europe, became manifest also in Chile. Don Ambrosio O'Higgins was its chief exponent. The evils of the system of personal service, as they appeared in Chile, had made a profound impression on him. The high regard in which he was held by the king of Spain enabled him to persuade that monarch of the desirability of bringing about a complete reform of the relations that had existed between the Indians and the encomenderos. The result was the decree of June 10, 1791,

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which ordered that all the encomiendas of Chile should be incorporated in the crown. The circumstances at last made this possible. The large increase of free laborers in the colony during the previous decades furnished a class ready to take up the work of the released vassals, without other inducement than the prospect of receiving wages, and without causing any serious social disturbance. After the abolition of the old system, the attention of the government was turned to the regulation of the tribute, which was now to be paid by the Indians into the royal treasury.

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A FIRST FRUIT OF THE RENAISSANCE IN ENGLAND, MORE'S "UTOPIA."*

WM. DALLAM ARMES.

One of the effects of that general change in mental attitude towards the world, man, the life here and the life hereafter that brought about the end of "the Middle Ages" and ushered in the modern era—a change so great that it is called the Renaissance, the re-birth,—was an intelligent study of the masterpieces, literary, artistic, scientific, and philosophical, of classical antiquity. A knowledge of the Roman authors had never died out; but they were now studied in a new spirit, and the Greek literature, of which but a slight knowledge had hitherto existed and that mainly through the medium of Arabian translations, was practically discovered for western Europe during the last decade of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth. In 1396, Chrysolares, "the most accomplished and eloquent Hellenist of his age," was made professor of Greek in the University of Florence, and "this engagement," says Symonds, "secured the future of Greek erudition in Europe." In 1423 John Aurispa brought over two hundred manuscripts from Greece to Italy; and by 1440 the spirit of ancient learning was quickening the intellectual life throughout the greater part of the peninsula. The

* A lecture, somewhat expanded, delivered before the Hillside Club, of Berkeley, February 20, and the Liberal Education League, of San Francisco, March 31, 1911.

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capture of Constantinople by the Turks thirteen years later led many Greek scholars to go into voluntary exile, and naturally they made their way, with their precious manuscripts, to Italy. At the courts of the small principalities that at that time made up that "geographical expression," they found an eager welcome; but it is a great mistake to date, as is frequently done, the beginning of the Renaissance from their arrival; before that all the more important Greek authors were known and intelligently studied in Italy.

In particular did Florence become noted as a centre of "the New Learning," and to it flocked students from all parts of Europe to listen to the lectures of Chalcondylas. On their return to their native countries they in turn became apostles of "sweetness and light," and thus the influence of the new movement spread. One of the first Englishmen to study under the great Florentine teacher was William Grocyn, who on his return to England began to teach what he had learned. "The Greek lectures which he delivered at Oxford," writes an English historian, "mark the opening of a new period in our history." Grocyn's labors were assisted by those of two other Englishmen who had studied in Italy: Thomas Linacre, who had taken the degree of doctor of medicine at the University of Padua; and John Colet, who reformed secondary education in England by his foundation of St. Paul's School. Under these able teachers Oxford soon rivalled Florence itself as a centre of Greek learning and attracted scholars from abroad who could not afford to go to Italy. One of these was the great Dutch scholar Erasmus, who wrote in 1498, "I have found in Oxford so much polish and learning that now I hardly care about going to Italy at all, save for the sake of having been there. When I listen to my friend Colet it seems like listening to Plato himself. Who does not wonder at the wide range of Grocyn's knowledge? What can be more searching, deep, and refined than the judgment of Linacre? When did

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Nature mould a temper more gentle, endearing, and happy than the temper of Thomas More?"

The man thus associated with these apostles of culture in England was much their junior, and unlike them had neither studied in Italy nor taught in Oxford. Though he became "by far the greatest figure in the intellectual history of early Tudor England," Thomas More was essentially a home product. Born in 1478, the son of a Londoner in moderate circumstances, who became a judge of the King's Bench and attained the honor of knighthood, at the age of thirteen the boy was placed as a page in the household of Thomas Morton, cardinal and archbishop of Canterbury; and by his wit and precocity made such an impression on that prelate that in 1492 he procured his admission to Oxford. Though he remained in the university but two years, the boy (he was but sixteen when he left!) distinguished himself as a student and champion of "the New Learning." His father, however, wished him to become a lawyer, and therefore in 1494 entered him as a student in an Inn of Chancery in London. Here too he progressed rapidly, so that ere long he was appointed lecturer at Furnivall's Inn, a position that he held for something over three years and was occupying at the time of Erasmus' encomium.

But great as was More's success in it, he was not wholeheartedly devoted to the law. He had by no means given up his interest in literature, and while he was teaching law at Furnivall's Inn gave a course of lectures on St. Augustine's "City of God" at a London church, of which his old teacher Grocyn was rector. He was strongly inclined towards the religious, even the monastic, life; and is said to have lived for four years, apparently from 1499 to 1503, with the Carthusians in the Charter-house, subjecting himself, though without a vow, to the monastic discipline, even to the extent of wearing a hair-shirt next his skin and scourging himself on Fridays.

In 1504 he became a member of parliament and at once

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attracted attention to himself by the courage and ability with which he opposed the grants asked by Henry VII. on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter to James IV. of Scotland. So convincing was his speaking and so able his leadership that but little over a quarter of the sum demanded was granted. "He is the first person in our history," writes Sir James Mackintosh, "distinguished by the faculty of public speaking." Great was the amazement and sore the displeasure of the king when he learned that his ministers had been outwitted and his expectations disappointed by a beardless boy. More found it prudent to retire to private life, and during the five years that remained of Henry VII.'s reign devoted himself so assiduously to his profession that he won an enviable reputation as a shrewd, able, upright lawyer, who would plead no cause that he considered unjust and take no fees from widows, orphans, or the poor.

In 1505 More married, his longing for a family life having convinced him of his unfitness for that of a monk, a friar, or a priest. Between him and Erasmus, though his encomiast was thirteen years his senior, a warm friendship had grown up. "They were united," writes Guthkelch, "not only by their love of classical literature, but also by the likeness of their characters—their love of truth, their hatred of all shams and hypocrisies, their kindliness; above all, perhaps, by the possession of that kind of humor which pierces to the reality lying beneath the pomps and shows of the world." When, therefore, Erasmus was again in England, late in 1505, he was for some time a guest in More's home; and together the two friends made a translation, from Greek into Latin, of some of the Dialogues of Lucian, that was published in 1506. On a subsequent visit, in 1508, Erasmus was again More's guest, and in his house wrote what was destined to be his best-known and most popular work, "The Praise of Folly."

In 1510 More was made under-sheriff of London, and as such sat as judge in civil cases. Erasmus wrote to a friend,

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"No one ever concluded more cases or decided them with greater integrity. . . . By his way of acting he has become very popular with the citizens of London." Naturally, therefore, when, a few years later, a controversy between the London merchants and the Flemish that had settled in the metropolis made it necessary to send an embassy to Flanders to treat with representatives of the archduke, the Londoners petitioned the king to appoint him as their representative. Henry VIII., who had for some time been endeavoring to draw him into his service, graciously acceded; and he and four others made up the English embassy.

More left his native country May 12, 1515, and was abroad more than six months. The embassadors met at Bruges, then the principal seaport in northern Europe, and soon found that on certain points they could not agree. The Flemish embassadors therefore returned to Brussels to learn the pleasure of their prince, and More took advantage of the opportunity to visit Antwerp, then beginning to rival Bruges in commercial importance. Here he remained for some time, his stay made pleasant by intercourse with the town-clerk, Peter Giles. Eight years More's junior, Giles was both a ripe scholar and an intimate friend of Erasmus, who had directed his studies and who probably brought about his meeting with More. A warm friendship quickly sprang up between the two Humanists; and in a letter written to Erasmus by More soon after his return home he says, "In all my travels nothing was more to my wishes than my intercourse with your host, Peter Giles of Antwerp, a man so learned, witty, modest, and so true a friend, that I would willingly purchase my intimacy with him at the cost of a great part of my fortune."

But it was impossible for such a man as More to be idle or to spend his time merely in conversation, however pleasant and profitable. His head was full of literary projects suggested by his reading of the classics and his observations of contemporaneous life, and he utilized his enforced leisure

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by setting down on paper, in Latin, an account of an ideal commonwealth. Apparently he showed Giles what he had written and was urged by him to finish it. After his return to England, though so busy that he had to "steal from sleep and meat" the time that he put upon it, he did so; and late in 1516 sent the manuscript of the "Utopia" to his Antwerp friend.

"All great literature is at bottom," Matthew Arnold states, "a criticism of life;" but in the greatest the criticism is implied rather than directly stated: the writer virtually criticises the conditions of the life actually around him by presenting a fairer and nobler ideal. The "Utopia" is in two parts, and the second, which was the earlier written, is an example of this indirect criticism. But having built his castle in the air, More proceeded to put a foundation under it; having set forth the features of an ideal commonwealth that, he fables, actually existed, he wrote a first book that purported to tell how he learned of its existence. In this part there is considerable direct criticism of the conditions of affairs in England, which criticism More, to escape possible disastrous consequences to himself were it ill received by those in authority, very cleverly puts in the mouth of one Raphael Hythloday, a Portuguese traveller. He himself sometimes differs from the critic, but oddly enough always gets the worse of it in the argument that ensues!

In this introductory part More shows himself an admirable literary artist, by so mingling fact and fiction that no one could tell where the one left off and the other began. He tells that he was sent on an embassy to Bruges, that during a halt in the negotiations he went to Antwerp, and that there he became intimately acquainted with Peter Giles: all statements of facts, as could easily have been ascertained. But when he goes on to state that one day, after he had heard mass in the cathedral, he espied Giles talking with a stranger, whom he judged from his appearance and apparel to be a mariner; that Peter introduced him to the man, who turned out to be a philosophical traveller

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rather than a sailor; and that he had him to his home and, seated on a rustic bench in his garden, heard from him marvellous tales of the countries that he had visited, who shall say that something of the sort did not actually occur? The chances are about even.[1] But when More says the traveller turned out to be one of the twenty-four Europeans that Amerigo Vespucci, as he stated in a letter published in 1507, had on his fourth voyage to the New World left at a port in Brazil, and that this traveller had made his way back to Europe by Ceylon and India, that we have fiction is a probability so great as to amount almost to certainty. And of the fictitious nature of much that More asserts that he was told by the traveller, there is no doubt whatever.

But in all that concerns Europe, and especially England, there is neither fiction nor misstatement in the remarks attributed to Hythloday. Wherever More's readers had a chance to test him, Raphael showed himself a keen, accurate observer, an intelligent critic, and a shrewd political philosopher. Unconsciously to themselves, the earliest readers of the "Utopia" must have been led to respect the man's abilities, admire his judgment, and credit his veracity. And then, when More had prepared them to accept practically any statement made by Hythloday, he put forth his dream as a sober, matter of fact account by this traveller of the conditions that he had found in one of the many countries that he had visited.

The direct criticism of the state of affairs in the England of More's day has for us mainly a historical and an antiquarian interest. Though England may still occasionally wage an unjust war on a weaker nation and though peasants are still occasionally evicted that the land that

[1] Apparently Mr. Sidney Lee thinks it did: in his recently published "The French Renaissance in England" he writes (p. 72), "It was while he was talking in French with a Portuguese sailor who had voyaged to America that More's alert imagination conceived his new ideal of society;" but unfortunately Mr. Lee gives no authority for his statements that the "Utopia" grew out of an actual conversation and that this conversation was in French.

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they have occupied may be turned into a sheep-walk or a deer covert, the country is no longer overrun with maimed soldiers, the idle and dissolute retainers of great nobles, and homeless laborers. The king does not now strive to increase his income by debasing the coinage, levying taxes for the expenses of an entirely imaginary war, exacting penalties for infringements of obsolete and forgotten laws, selling indulgences, or corrupting judges to decide in his favor suits that have been trumped up against his wealthy subjects. Wretched laborers are not taxed twice in the year sixpence in the pound on wages that have been rigidly fixed by law at the smallest possible pittance, that the sovereign may indulge in useless war or senseless display. And starving peasants are no longer hung in rows of twenty for stealing the means of subsistence.

The following advice to scholars and philosophers, who, like Plato's wise man, stand aside under a wall and complain of the corruption and degeneracy of the state, is, however, as timely to-day as when More wrote it well-nigh four centuries ago: "If evil opinions and naughty persuasions cannot be utterly and quite plucked out of their hearts, if you cannot even as you would remedy vices, which use and custom hath confirmed; yet for this cause you must not leave and forsake the commonwealth; you must not forsake the ship in a tempest, because you cannot rule and keep down the winds. No, nor you must not labor to drive into their heads new and strange informations, which you know well shall be nothing regarded with them that be of clean contrary minds. But you must with a crafty wile and a subtle train study and endeavor yourself, as much as in you lieth, to handle the matter wittily and handsomely for the purpose; and that which you cannot turn to good, so to order it that it be not very bad. For it is not possible for all things to be well, unless all men were good; which I think will not be yet this good many years."

More's cleverness is likewise shown in the manner in which the discourse is led from the consideration of actu-

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ally existing conditions in Europe to the detailed account of the political and social systems, the manners and customs of the imaginary commonwealth that forms his second book. Hythloday illustrates his remarks on conditions in Europe with comparisons with conditions in several little known or unknown countries that he has visited, and it is in connection with one of the latter that Utopia is first mentioned; the Achoriens are said to live to the southeast of it. This added little to the information of his hearers, and could have had little appeal to their interest. A little later the Macarians are said to live not far from Utopia. This, too, could be of little interest or practical value to Hythloday's auditors or More's readers. But the mention of the name among others equally unknown, and in such a casual manner, increases the chance of its being received as the genuine name of an actually existing place. The third mention of it a few moments later would certainly pique the curiosity of every student of the New Learning,—the Utopians are said to carry out in practice the principles that Plato set forth as those of his ideal state! More forbears breaking in on Hythloday's speech and before its end still another reference to the Utopians is introduced,—notwithstanding their practice of communism the Utopians are said to be not only the best governed and happiest people that Hythloday has seen but also the most industrious. This surprises More, and he asserts that he does not see how this can be true, as all the ordinary incentives to industry must be lacking in such a state. Hythloday replies that he does not wonder at More's lack of understanding, for he can have no correct conception of such a constitution as theirs. But had he lived among them five years, as he himself had, he would confess that he had never seen a people as well constituted. Thoroughly interested, More asks for a particular account of the country, the people, and the government. Hythloday signifies his willingness to give him the desired information, but warns him that it will take some time. In the most natural way in the world More invites him into his house

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to dine with him; and after dinner, when they are once more seated in the garden, Hythloday in an orderly manner, without question or other interruption from his auditors, tells More and Giles of the island, its inhabitants, and their government, laws, customs, practices, and religions.

The first part, it will readily be understood from what has been said, is in narrative form; the second is really a treatise, with a resumption of the narrative at the end. That it was composed independently of the first part, there are several indications, among them the occasional use of the editorial plural and the formal division of the matter, after a general account of the island, into eight sections with more or less appropriate headings. A mere statement of these would show that they are not arranged in a logical order and that they by no means exhaust the matter. In truth, the second part, notwithstanding its appearance of orderliness, is decidedly rambling. Anything may come in almost anywhere; the account of the care of the sick among the Utopians and that of their marriage customs being found, for instance, in the section headed "Of Bondmen," and the greater part of the section "Of Travelling" being a philosophical disquisition on their notions concerning the nature of true pleasure. In the account of this second book that follows I have endeavored by rearrangement and by the combination of widely separated statements to give the main principles of the Utopian commonwealth in somewhat more logical form.

Utopia, Hythloday stated, is an island two hundred miles broad that one Utopus, after conquering its barbarian inhabitants some seventeen hundred and fifty years before Hythloday's visit, formed from a peninsula by digging a deep channel across the narrow isthmus that connected it with the mainland. It is divided into fifty-four shires; each containing a city, the jurisdiction of which extends at least twenty miles in every direction. As these cities are all alike save for differences due to location, the capital, Amaurote, is described as typical.

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It is built, almost in the shape of a square with sides about two miles long, upon the side of a hill that slopes to the river Anyder, eighty miles from its source and sixty from its mouth; and is surrounded on the land sides by a massive stone wall and a dry ditch filled with thorns. Through it flows a smaller river that empties into the Anyder, which by the city is half a mile wide and is crossed by a stately stone bridge so placed that ships from the sea may unload at docks along the city's water-front. Amaurote is divided into four equal parts, each of which contains near its centre a market-place for manufactured articles and another for provisions. Each street in the city is twenty feet wide; and the dwelling-houses are uniformly three stories high, faced with stone, brick, or plastering, and provided with windows of glass. So similar are they that the side of a block appears a single house. They are built in each square around a great central garden to which each dwelling has communication. The Utopians take great pleasure in these gardens and cultivate them with much care, street vying with street to have the most beautiful and fruitful. In each street are great halls, each of which serves as a residence for a magistrate and a meeting and dining place for those under his jurisdiction. Each city contains thirteen churches and a number of special houses that are set aside for the entertainment of strangers; and without the walls of each are four hospitals, so well managed that the sick prefer going to them to remaining at home. Amaurote differs from the other cities in that it possesses a great hall for the meetings of the general council of the whole island.

There are two classes of inhabitants in Utopia, free citizens and bondmen; and the latter class is again divided into two: first, Utopians who have been condemned to servitude for heinous offences (for even in Utopia men are not perfect) and those who in their own countries had been sentenced to death but begged off by the Utopians; and, second, poor laborers of other lands who have preferred

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bondage in Utopia to freedom in their own countries. Those of the first class are kept in chains and forced to labor constantly; those of the latter are treated much as free citizens, but must perform somewhat more work. Hereditary slavery is unknown in Utopia, and no bondman is in hopeless servitude: those who have been condemned to bondage for crime may obtain their release by repentance and good conduct; should any one of the second class wish to return to his country, he is sped on his way with rich gifts.

The primary political division in Utopia is the "family." In the country this is a thoroughly artificial division that consists of forty citizens, men and women, and two serfs. In the city it is less artificial; it contains from ten to sixteen persons, mainly blood relatives under the rule of a common progenitor. If, however, a city "family" increases above the fixed maximum, parental affection must give way to the exigencies of the community: children are summarily removed from it to one that has fallen below the minimum. No city may contain within its walls and in the country under its jurisdiction more than six thousand "families." An overplus in any city is remedied by transferring citizens to one that has not reached the maximum; and overpopulation of the whole island leads to the sending out of colonies. These are established wherever fit unoccupied land is found, regardless of what nation may claim it. If the colonists are welcomed, as they generally are, well and good; if not, the Utopians will go to war to compel their reception.

Over every "family" is a master and a mistress, and over every thirty "families" is an official called a phylarch or syphogrant, who is elected annually and whose main business is to see that no one is idle. Over every ten phylarchs and the "families" under them is an archphylarch or tranibore. These officers are also elected annually, but, unlike the phylarchs, are changed only for grave reasons. The twenty tranibores form a council that meets at

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least every third day to consult with the chief magistrate. This official, who is called the barzanes or ademus, is also elected, but by the phylarchs, who, however, are restricted in their choice to four candidates, one from each quarter of the city, who have been named to them by the people. He holds office for life, unless deposed for suspicion of tyranny. At the discussions of the council two phylarchs are always present, and to prevent any conspiracy to overthrow the system of government these are constantly changed. Death is the penalty for consulting about the government anywhere save in the council or in the general assembly of the whole people.

These, be it noted, are all city officials. Though the commonwealth was established by Utopus and derived its name from him, he is nowhere given a title; and there is no mention of any ruler over the whole island.[2] "The common matters of the land," are, however, debated in a great council, which meets yearly at Amaurote, and to which each city sends as delegates three "old men, wise and well-experienced." Utopia resembles Hellas in being a congeries of city-states without a supreme ruler; and in the general council may be a reminiscence of that of the famous Amphictyonic League.

The fundamental principle of the social polity of Utopia is communism. No citizen has a personal right to anything, even the product of his own labor. The fruits of their industry are kept in great storehouses, from which every one is free to help himself according to his needs, without any sort of exchange. Every house is open to

[2] The ademus is, however, in More's Latin termed *princeps*, and the use of this word has misled many writers as to the true nature of the government of Utopia. William Morris, for instance, in the Foreword to the edition of the "Utopia" published by the Kelmscott Press, says that there are "bondslaves and a king" in Utopia; and Mr. Sidney Lee, in the life of More in the "Dictionary of National Biography" writes, "Monarchy and slavery are essential features of the Utopian commonwealth." More, however, nowhere uses the word *rex* in reference to any Utopian official; and the "slavery" is of the sort that exists in England and every other civilized nation to-day, bondage and labor as punishment for crime.

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every citizen, and every ten years the dwellings are redistributed by lot. Even the children, as has been seen, belong primarily to the commonwealth rather than to their parents.

Naturally all, men and women alike, are educated among the Utopians, who not only learn readily but acquire a love of study that continues through life. Their enlightened curiosity and readiness to learn are illustrated by Hythloday by two instances: from certain Romans and Egyptians who were wrecked on the island some twelve hundred years before his visit they learned practically all the arts and sciences of Rome; and under his tuition they rapidly acquired Greek and, following such imperfect explanations as he and his companions were able to give, made paper, type, and presses, and multiplied by the thousand the Greek books that he had with him. Though all are quick-witted and studious, naturally some are more gifted than others. Any one of studious disposition, whose studies seem likely to be of benefit to the community, may by secret ballot be exempted from manual labor that he may devote himself wholly to intellectual pursuits. From this aristocracy of intellect the higher officers of government, their priests, and their embassadors are chosen; but the class is closed to no one: any ambitious workman who occupies his abundant leisure in study may rise to it. The recall is, however, practised in Utopia: one who disappoints the expectations that have been formed of him may be returned to the ranks of the handicraftmen.

In the schools agriculture is taught to every one, and later all, except the professional students, are obliged to practise it. Each year half of a country "family" returns to town, and twenty of the dwellers in a city take their places. Thus all get the benefits of country life and a practical knowledge of agriculture, and as no one stays longer than two years, unless he wishes, none finds it irksome. When the harvest is ready for garnering, word is sent to the city and enough laborers are sent out to gather

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the entire crop in a single day. Though they know to a certainty just how much grain and cattle each city and its surrounding country will consume in a year, they grow and breed much more, that they may part the overplus with their neighbors. In the great storehouses in the cities are always kept sufficient provisions for two years, so that a failure of the crops does not seriously embarrass them.

In addition to agriculture, each citizen who does not belong to the small privileged class has a particular trade: the women generally are weavers of wool and flax; the men are masons, smiths, and carpenters. A son usually follows the occupation of his father, but any one having a particular liking or aptitude for a trade other than that of his father may be transferred to the "family" of one practising it and learn it from him.

As all but the sick and the professional students labor in Utopia, a working-day of but six hours is more than sufficient to supply all the needs of the community. They act, however, in accordance with the adage "Early to bed and early to rise," going to bed at eight o'clock and rising at four. Before daybreak every morning public lectures are given, and though attendance on them is obligatory only on those selected for the student class, many others are always present. Their leisure is not spent in idleness or in playing unprofitable games; they practise military exercises daily and divert themselves by reading, music, gardening, and games that have educational value.

The chief exports of the Utopians are grain, cattle, and manufactured articles. A seventh of any surplusage produced is distributed among the poor in the neighboring countries, and the rest is exchanged for things not found or produced in Utopia, mainly iron, gold, and silver. As, however, they have no money and restrict the wearing of jewelry to children, they have little practical use for the so-called precious metals, and hold them in such contempt that they employ them only for the meanest uses—the chains of those condemned to servitude for crime are of

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solid gold and an earring or coronet of that metal is a badge of infamy. They well know, however, that their less enlightened neighbors have no such feeling towards the yellow metal, and they have therefore amassed an immense store of it for use in time of war. To lessen the likelihood of trouble, however, they do not require immediate payment for their exports, preferring to keep their neighbors in their debt.

Closely akin to their contempt for the metals usually considered precious is their disregard for purple and fine linen. All dress alike, each family making its own clothes. The fashion never changes, and they wear the same garments winter and summer. At work they are clad in leather or skins, over which is thrown a cloak of wool or linen when they appear in public. They care not at all for fineness of thread, but only for the cleanliness of the wool and the whiteness of the flax. Pearls, carbuncles, and diamonds are found in the island; but they are used only for the adornment and amusement of children.

In so beneficent a government few laws are necessary, and these few are simple and plain; for "they think it against all right and justice that men should be bound to those laws, which either be in number more than be able to be read, or else blinder and darker than that any man can well understand them." Considering More's profession and office, it is noteworthy that lawyers are expressly excluded from this ideal commonwealth. Because they tolerate no subtleties or technicalities but drive straight at the truth of the matter and the intent of the law, the Utopians are much sought by their neighbors as judges.

The Utopians detest war, but such is the perversity of some of their neighbors that they cannot always avoid it. All the citizens, therefore, including the women, "daily practise and exercise themselves in the discipline of war," that should it be inevitable, they may not be found unprepared. "They count nothing so much against glory," however, "as glory gotten in war," and use every possible means

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to avoid actual conflict: when war has been declared, they post placards throughout the enemy's country promising great rewards to any that will kill the prince and those on whom they think the responsibility for the war rests; they endeavor by bribery to sow discord and sedition among the enemy's leaders; they strive to bring on a civil war in the enemy's country by inciting the prince's brother or some great nobleman to aspire to the crown; and they urge some neighboring ruler, whom they plentifully supply with treasure, to embroil their adversaries by putting forward some pretension to their country. If, however, none of these measures will avert actual warfare, they hire mercenaries to fight their battles for them; and so far as possible avoid exposing their own citizens to danger. And if they themselves must fight, only volunteers are used save in the direst necessity. In a battle a band of their bravest youth single out the general of their enemies; and "him they invade, now with privy wiles, now by open strength. At him they strike both near and far off. He is assailed with a long and continual assault, fresh men still coming in the wearied men's places; and seldom it chanceth, unless he save himself by flying, that he is not either slain or else taken prisoner."

There is much in these methods that is repugnant to us; but it must be remembered that to the Utopians war itself is abhorrent and that their only design in it is "to obtain that thing, which if they had before obtained, they would not have moved battle. But if that be not possible, they take so cruel vengeance of them which be in the fault that ever after they be afraid to do the like." And, after all, would not the general adoption of the Utopian methods do much to usher in the era of universal peace? Would not the feeling that they themselves would probably be the first to fall in any war that they might declare go far towards convincing sovereigns and their ministers of the desirability of arbitration?

Considering the time when More wrote and his subse-

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quent actions against the Protestants, it is noteworthy that there is religious toleration in this ideal state. When Utopus conquered the barbarians he was much helped by the fact that the various sects that existed among them were at strife with one another. One of his first acts after his victory, therefore, was to grant freedom of religious belief to all, and to prohibit the bitter discussion of religious topics and the reproaching of those of a different sect. Him that thought that man's soul dies with man's body or that denied the existence of a wise all-ruling Providence, "they count not in the number of men, as one that hath avaled [degraded] the high nature of his soul to the vileness of brute beasts' bodies;" and hence kept from all honors, offices, and positions of public trust. But they did not otherwise punish him: "because they be persuaded that it is in no man's power to believe what he list," and therefore "they constrain him not with threatenings to dissemble his mind and show countenance contrary to his thought; for deceit and falsehood and all manner of lies, as next unto fraud, they do marvellously detest and abhor." This toleration was ordained by Utopus not only because he considered that it would conduce to peace within the state, but because "he durst define and determine nothing inadvisedly, as doubting whether God, desiring manifold and divers sorts of honor, would inspire sundry men with sundry kinds of religion. And this surely he thought a very unmeet and foolish thing and a point of arrogant presumption, to compel all other by violence and threatenings to agree to the same that thou believest to be true."

Various religions exist in Utopia, therefore, without strife, contention, or even active proselyting. Some worship the sun and planets; others departed heroes; others an invisible, eternal, infinite, and incomprehensible Deity. All these sects agree, however, in the worship of a Supreme Being, whom all term Mythras, who made and governs the world; and this common belief makes possible a simple common service: all meet in common churches, are served by

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common priests, who may be men or women, married or unmarried, and use a common ritual. Whatever rites are peculiar to the different sects are performed in private houses.

Their religions generally conduce to cheerfulness, and so sure are they that for the good man "to die is gain" that they lament no man's death unless they see him loath to leave this life. Such, as being unwilling to meet their Maker, they sorrowfully bury in silence; but the corpses of those that joyfully meet death are burned amid the singing of hymns.

Partly because of its doctrine concerning the Deity, partly because of the self-sacrifice of Jesus, and partly because of the communism practised by his early followers, the Christian religion as expounded to them by Hythloday and his fellows, was readily accepted by the Utopians. Multitudes were baptized, and but for the absence of a priest would have participated in the other rites and the sacraments of the church. At the time of Hythloday's departure they had almost determined to choose a priest from among their own number.

These, then, are the main features of the commonwealth that seemed to Hythloday not only the best that he had seen but the only one that truly deserved the name. For, he says, "in other places they speak still of the commonwealth, but every man procureth his own private wealth . . . . Therefore when I consider and weigh in my mind all these commonwealths which nowadays anywhere do flourish, so God help me, I can perceive nothing but a certain conspiracy of rich men procuring their own commodities under the name and title of the commonwealth. . . . But these most wicked and vicious men, when they have by their insatiable covetousness divided among themselves all those things which would have sufficed all men, yet how far be they from the wealth and felicity of the Utopian commonwealth? Out of the which, in that all the desire of money with the use thereof is utterly secluded and banished, how great

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a heap of cares is cut away! How great an occasion of wickedness and mischief is plucked up by the roots!"

With a final invective against the "hell-hound" pride, "the princess and mother of all mischief," which alone, he thinks, has prevented all the world from developing such governments as the Utopian, he brings his long discourse to an end. More had many questions to ask, he states, and some objections to make; but perceiving that his guest was tired, he postponed them to some more convenient season. He ends with the hope that he may have opportunity to resume the discussion and the statement that, while he cannot commend all the practices of the Utopians, he must confess that "many things be in the Utopian weal public which in our cities I may rather wish for than hope after."

Such, then, was the work that nearly a year after he had parted from him More sent to Giles. It has already been said that the second part is an example of indirect criticism. No Englishman of More's time could have read it without noting the points of similarity between England and Utopia, Amaurote and London; nor without thinking how much better the Utopians utilized the advantages of their physical environment, how much more wisely they were governed, and how much more truly Utopia was a commonwealth. Thoroughly out of harmony with the growing commercial competition of his day, More in the second part of his work indicated what he thought would be the results for his native country if the fundamental principles of this ideal commonwealth were adopted. "Although the word Utopian is now taken to characterize a scheme of which the hope rests upon impossible conditions," writes Morley, "a scheme wholly unpractical, there were few more practical books published in Henry VIII.'s reign than Sir Thomas More's 'Utopia.'"

In Hythloday's remark that the Utopians carry out in practice the principles that Plato set forth as those of an ideal state, More indicated the main source of his inspiration, the "Republic," in which Plato makes Socrates, in an

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endeavor to ascertain the true meaning of justice, sketch what he considered should be the characteristics of a perfect state. In a general way, the "Utopia" shows a state in which his theories have been reduced to practice. The sketch has, however, been made into a completed picture; many of the details of which were derived from other classic authors. Several of the customs of the Utopians are those of the Lacedemonians, as stated by Plutarch in his life of Lycurgus; the long discussion on their notions of the nature of true pleasure constantly echoes Cicero's "De Finibus;" and Lucian, Thucydides, and Tacitus were laid under contribution. Even such a detail as an account of the artificial incubation of chickens in Utopia has its origin in what Pliny says was a practice among the Egyptians.

But in one respect, at least, More was entirely original. To many Vespucci's account of his four voyages, published but nine years before the "Utopia," must have been a disappointing book. Apparently the New World had nothing to teach the Old. The peoples that Vespucci found there were but savages, living in a state of degradation unknown in Europe. But even had they been otherwise, his book clearly showed that he was by no means the man to be interested in or to give an accurate account of their governments, social systems, and religious beliefs. He was as far as possible from being "a philosophical traveller." To give him as a companion a man who was, and to make him after he had been left by Vespucci in Brazil explore on his own account and discover a people from whom the Old World might learn much, was a really brilliant idea.

But had More not had great literary art, the mere idea would have availed him little. He knew, however, having perhaps learned from Lucian's "True History," how to give versimilitude to his fiction by the introduction of a multitude of homely, otherwise insignificant details; and his work is, therefore, a masterpiece of realism.

Accompanying the manuscript of the "Utopia," More

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sent a letter to Giles, in which is kept up the pretence of his being merely the reporter of another's observations and comments. Very cleverly he professes anxiety for absolute accuracy in even the most trivial detail; he had understood Hythloday to say that by Amaurote the river Anyder is half a mile wide, but his boy John Clement, who was present during Hythloday's talk, says that he must have misunderstood the traveller, for he said that it is but a little over half that width. More therefore asks Giles to endeavor to recall Hythloday's statement, "for," he writes, and he must have smiled to himself as he did so, "as I will take good heed that there be in my book nothing false, so, if there be anything in doubt, I will rather tell a lie than make a lie; because I had rather be good than wily." It occurs to him, however, that the doubt may best be resolved by Giles' appealing to Hythloday himself, by letter if necessary.

That he should put himself into communication with the Portuguese is really necessary for another reason: in his account of Utopia he failed to state its location and they unfortunately neglected to ask him. This More particularly desires to know, because a certain virtuous and godly doctor of divinity, moved by the Utopians' lack of a christian priest, proposes to beg the pope to send him to them as bishop! It would be well, moreover, for Giles to submit what More has written to Hythloday that he may correct any slips and give his opinion concerning its publication. More himself, he states, has not made up his mind in regard to this, but is willing to be guided by the counsels of his friends, especially Giles.

The advice was in favor, and late in 1516, after it had been read by several of More's continental friends, the "Utopia" was given to the world. Though it was in Latin and therefore inaccessible to those who might have been led by it to attempt 'reform by revolution rather than evolution,' it contained such drastic criticism of England's condition and policy that its publication in that country

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would have been attended with grave danger to both author and publisher. It was therefore issued at Louvain, a university town in Belgium; and no edition of it, either in the original or in translation, appeared in More's native country until long after he had paid the penalty of otherwise braving the displeasure of Henry VIII. and four years after that king himself had

> "In the dust been equal made
> With the poor crooked scythe and spade."[3]

Giles and Erasmus furnished the first edition with marginal notes that not only give the topics of the paragraphs but point out the likeness between London and Amaurote, state that the communism in Utopia "smelleth of Plato his community," and occasionally call attention to how much better things are managed in Utopia than in Europe. Several times their admiration of the author leads them to insert such notes as "Wonderful wittily spoken" and "O witty head!" To the edition was prefixed More's letter to Giles and one that Giles wrote to Jerome Busleyden, the learned Master of Requests and Councillor of the ruler of the Netherlands. In the latter Giles ably seconds More's endeavor to give versimilitude to his fiction and bears testimony to the accuracy of his remembrance of what he had heard, saying that by a marvellous feat of memory he had written almost word for word what Hythloday had uttered, and yet so set it forth that every time the good Peter reads it he sees somewhat more in it than when he heard Hythloday tell it. "I can scant believe," he writes, and here he has his little joke, "that Raphael himself by all that five years' space that he was in Utopia abiding, saw there so

[3] An English translation by Ralph Robynson was published at London in 1551, and from this, as reprinted by J. H. Lupton in 1895, the quotations in this article have been made, but with the spelling modernized. Other English translations have been published by Gilbert Burnet (1684), Arthur Cayley (1808), and Valerian Paget (1909). The Latin text was first printed in England in 1663.

Before the work was published in England translations into German (1524), Italian (1548), and French (1550), had appeared. A Dutch translation was published in 1553, and a Spanish in 1790.

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much as here in Master More's description is to be seen and perceived." He does not resolve the doubt as to the width of the river, but he does refer to the difficulty concerning the location of Utopia. Hythloday did not leave that unspoken of, as More thinks, but just as he incidentally stated it one of More's servants distracted his attention by coming and whispering in his ear, and the inopportune coughing of one of the company, caused, he thinks, by a cold caught a-shipboard, made Peter himself lose some of Hythloday's words. He will not rest, however, until he has learned the exact latitude and longitude of the island, if Hythloday is still alive. For he had left Antwerp for Portugal, and one report is died on his journey homewards; another that he arrived safe but found conditions so little to his liking that he had set out again for his loved Utopia. Between More's departure from Antwerp and his own, however, he had shown Giles the Utopian alphabet and four lines of verse in the Utopian language, and these he has added to More's book. The alphabet is made up mainly of circles, semicircles, squares, triangles, and right angles, slightly differentiated for the different letters. A few of the words are similar to Greek words, but nothing could be made of the Utopian verses had not Giles obligingly furnished a Latin translation.

In the prefatory matter are included two other letters, one by Joannes Paludanus, professor of rhetoric in the University of Louvain, to Giles and one by Busleyden to More, and four other poems: ten elegiac verses by Paludanus; a sestet by Gerardus Noviomagus, who had been a teacher of philosophy at Louvian; another by Cornelius Grapheus, secretary to the city of Antwerp; and one attributed to "Anemolius, poet laureate and nephew to Hythloday by his sister." In neither the letters nor the verses is there any indication that their writers have been deceived by More's statement that he had received the account of Utopia from a traveller and added nothing of his own. On the contrary, he is given full credit for the whole work; it is

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said that his ideal commonwealth surpasses all those of antiquity; and he is hailed as the brightest ornament of London, of England, nay, of the world.

Did More then fail in his endeavor to palm off his fiction as truth? The very publication with the book itself of these commendations of his ability as a thinker and writer forbids this supposition; and that actual deception was no part of his purpose is shown by the names that he gives to places, peoples, and officials. Anemolius's verses end with the somewhat obvious pun that the name of the country described should be Eutopia (good place) rather than Utopia (no place), and this alone was enough to put More's earliest readers on the track of the derivation of most of the other names that he invented. Nearly all are from the Greek and indicate the fictitious character of his story. Hythloday means distributor of idle talk; the capital of Utopia, no where, is Amaurote, the dim city, which is appropriately situated on the river Anyder, waterless, and has as its chief magistrate an ademus, one without a people. And among the peoples with whom those living in nowhere are brought into relations are the Alaopolitanes, the dwellers in the blind city, the Achoriens, the people without a place, the Nephelogetes, the cloud folk, and the Anemolians, the inhabitants of the winds! More evidently neither expected nor desired to deceive his readers; but he did wish to give his fiction the appearance of truth, because he knew that this would lead to its being more widely read and more greatly enjoyed. His "Utopia" is a precursor, the earliest in English literature, of "Gulliver's Travels," "A Journal of the Plague Year," "Robinson Crusoe," and a whole host of more modern works.

But it is rather as a first fruit of the Renaissance that the work has won its fame. "It tells us more of the curiosity the New Learning had awakened in Englishmen concerning all the problems of life, society, government, and religion than any other book of the time. It is the representative book of that short but well-defined period which we may call English Renaissance before the Reformation."

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THE PROBLEM OF THE LAW SCHOOL.*

WILLIAM CAREY JONES.

The law schools of this country have never faced their problems. Like most institutions passing by inheritance from generation to generation, they have deemed it unnecessary to inquire into the original justification of their plans and programmes, or to ascertain whether that which was perhaps once justified still retains its reason for being. Taking for granted that the original scheme was not only adapted to the purposes of the time of its creation, but was fundamentally and permanently sound, the only changes, speaking generally, that have been made during the century in the American law school, have consisted in raising the standard of admission and extending the period of study. Only one innovation of essential importance has been introduced. This took place in the method of instruction and was due mainly to one man, Professor C. C. Langdell, carried on and perfected by Professor J. B. Ames. The application of the inductive method hereby made to the study of law has been well nigh revolutionary in its effects. Nothing more beneficial for the cause of legal education could well have happened. The teaching of law has been transformed from mere empirical instruction to a rational scientific discipline. This method of investigation and teaching conduces not only to great intellectual development in the student, but is the key to all accurate historical

* Address delivered at the dedication of the Boalt Memorial Hall of Law, April 28, 1911.

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study of law and all logical reform thereof. It is the one signal achievement of the American law school.

I should, possibly, say one word of caution: in using the expression "American law school," I do not have in mind any comparison with foreign law schools. The American law school holds a place of its own, and only with its functions and developments are we at present concerned. Any comparisons in my mind or that I would suggest are between what the American law school has been and is, and what it may be.

Now, even after acceptance of the inductive method by the American law schools, and such adoption is not universal, the American law school is still only in the position in which the American medical school was after it had been stirred by the influence of scientific methods of research and teaching, but had not taken the great onward and outward steps that have so significantly marked the progress of more recent medical education.

Our law schools would, I believe, group themselves into two classes: one that aims more at the production of the scholarly lawyer, and another that aims more at the production of the practical lawyer. Such classification, however, does not hold good; for the one that is the more scholarly is on the whole the more practical. The main difference in fact is that the second group, while using the same methods and having the same curriculum, has less well informed and less well trained material to work on.

My present purpose, however, has not to do with any dissecting of our actual law schools, but rather with an attempt to indicate some of the objects and ideals of a great and sufficient American law school. But something need be said to show that there are grounds of dissatisfaction, and that when a new law school is emerging existing types should not be blindly followed. The high degree of success attained by our best law schools, and the rather admirable work done by very many, have led naturally to the conclusion that all that was necessary for a new school to do

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was to duplicate that school whose standard it could most nearly attain to in curriculum, in method, in library equipment, and in faculty. And such consummation is a mere matter of money.

Doubtless, the proper readjustment may be expected to come anyhow in the course of time without any distinct premeditation. But, while we wait, we are in a situation of some danger. The dissatisfaction that exists with reference to the making, practice, and administration of law will cause criticism to turn on the law school, also, as one of the offenders. Whether, in the face of that criticism when it comes, the reformation of the law school would be carried out on sound and rational lines, may be very much doubted. The danger that would then arise would be that the remedy would be wrongly applied. Would it not be the part of wisdom calmly to reëxamine the work and the curriculum of the law school and deliberately plot out its scope and define its character? To my belief, the great law school, rightly planned and rightly manned, will be one of the mighty contributing agencies in improving the law, whether in legislation, in the practice of the profession, or in the procedure of administration.

There are two chief faults that I would ascribe to the American law school. It is neither extensive nor intensive enough. It does not, on the one hand, lay a broad foundation in the history and theory of law, the rationale of legal institutions; nor, on the other hand, does it prepare with precision and definiteness the student with the technique and special equipment for the practice of his profession. Harvard Law School has recently taken steps which seem to admit in a partial way the former deficiency, but in doing so it has come dangerously near to inverting the pyramid. I would place in the first, or in a preliminary year, such subjects as Roman law and the theory and history of the common law, which Harvard places in a fourth year, and would distribute the remainder of Harvard's fourth year subjects through the several years of the course. And the

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last year, whether that be a third or a fourth year of legal study is open to other consideration, should, so far as the great majority of students is concerned, the prospective attorneys, be devoted especially to preparing such students for the efficient practice of the profession. The mere adding of one year, either at the top or at the bottom, without reviewing and revising and readjusting the whole scheme, is vain and illusory. The addition of Harvard's fourth year can serve, properly, the purposes of only one small class, the intending teacher of law. For the practitioner, it would usually be almost the worst thing he could do, after he had completed his preparation for the bar, to stay on at college attending lectures on the history and philosophy of law. Reverse the process, however, with the proper modifications, and you will tend to produce lawyers on the one hand with intellect broadened by a view of the history of legal institutions, by acquaintance with the development of legal principles, and by a comprehensive survey of the whole scope of their splendid profession, and on the other hand with faculties refined and sharpened, by a course of gradually increased intensiveness, for the immediate and practical discharge of their duties as attorneys.

To comprehend our problem, we must recognize the fact that law is a living principle, even as medicine is an advancing science. Law is in a process of constant becoming. It is ever being re-created, not only through legislation, but through a sort of self-reproduction. If it were a mass of dead rules, it could be learned in a *corpus juris* or in the four codes of California. The position is often taken, indeed, that the common law is no longer a re-creative power, that that function was exhausted in the middle ages. This view is shared not only by the laity but also by many judges and lawyers. The consequences of such a view are deplorable in the extreme. For such a view implies that a large portion of our law is mediaeval in the most reprehensible sense of the term. That there is a just ground for the reproach that the law is mediaeval is due to the very fact

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that too many of our lawyers and judges do not know the history and development of our legal principles; do not know when an old principle is dead and when a new principle is born; do not know the spirit of the common law; do not know that, through the hands of the judiciary, the common law can and should give protection to new conditions as they arise, and so constantly give birth to new legal rights. In demonstration of this proposition, I should like to give two or three illustrations.

Out of the many instances that might be chosen, let us take three that fall under the branch of law known as torts, where injury to person or property is redressed by a civil suit. These instances show that the principles of the common law are at the present day as strong in reproductive power as they ever were. The first case goes back to the fourteenth century. It was then held by the courts that any unjustifiable interference with legal status, whether within the narrower family tie or in the relation between master and servant, as by inducing a servant or apprentice to leave his master's employment, was ground for civil liability. The stranger who interfered with status recognized by law was liable in damages to the person who was injured thereby.

In the course of the following centuries there was coming into fuller realization Sir Henry Maine's famous proposition, that the movement of progressive societies is a movement from status to contract. In 1853, in the leading case of Lumley vs. Gye, the question was presented to the Court of Queen's Bench whether interference with a contractual relation existing between two persons by a stranger thereto would lay the basis for an action. The majority of the court took the broad ground that such interference, unless justified for one legal reason or another, would constitute a violation of a legal right. The fact that there was no direct precedent on which the decision might be based cut no figure with these majority judges. Their decision was in accordance with the spirit and living principles of

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the common law, and that was enough for them. Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, on the other hand, resisted what he regarded as an innovation and unwarranted extension of the law, on the ground that the relation here interfered with, that between a noted opera singer and an impressario, did not fall within the category of personal service which had been protected by the common law in the middle ages. In 1881 the principle of the decision of this case was affirmed by the Court of Appeal, and in 1903 by the House of Lords. In the meantime the same question had come before many of the American jurisdictions and received the same sanction as in Lumley vs. Gye. Naturally, some of the American judges took the same view as Chief Justice Coleridge, finding no precedent for the decision, and not perceiving that a condition had arisen calling for protection, an inchoate legal right, which justified, if it did not demand, spontaneous recognition by the courts. The value and validity of the rule established by Lumley vs. Gye cannot be regarded as impaired by the fact that California, almost alone among the states in which the question has arisen, chose to follow the lead of Lord Coleridge's dissenting opinion.

The third extension of principle, going out into new but analogous conditions, is the right not to be interfered with in one's trade or calling, the breach of which constitutes a new and distinct tort. We get outside status here, and outside contact, and approach very near to the broad generalization that the breach of any legal relation by one outside that relation is *per se* a breach of a legal right and lays the foundation of civil liability. We are not able to say, however, with the same positiveness with which we can speak of the doctrine of Lumley vs. Gye, that interference with another's trade or calling is *per se* a tort. The opinions of the highest courts in England, including the House of Lords, seem almost to announce this conclusion in as unequivocal language as I have used. The tendency of a large number of American courts lies in the same direction.

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California does not fall into line with this view; her position is more definitely taken against it than against the doctrine of Lumley vs. Gye.

What is of interest and significance in these instances is that we find the courts that administer the common law, in all parts of the world, in England, the United States, Canada, Australia, Africa, not shrinking from the responsibility of being themselves the direct media for the assertion of new legal rights. But it is no wonder that the birth-throes of this new right are more serious, painful, and protracted than is usual, although few legal rights are born without a struggle. The rise of this new right is implicated with the great social and industrial contests of our generation. It comes into collision with interests which claim to have had prior occupation of the ground and hold themselves intrenched behind alleged vested rights. It emerges right on the battle line between capital and labor. It is involved in such sensitive and inflammable ideas as are implied by the words labor unions, strikes, boycotts, picketing, conspiracy, open shop, closed shop. All the elements of this great industrial strife are inevitably carried into the courtroom, and it requires the ablest, best informed, wisest, and most fearless judges to discern and be willing to say what is the nature and what are the limits of the legal right in question.

Allow me to present another interesting illustration. Some years ago Mr. S. D. Warren and Mr. Louis Brandeis published several articles in the *Harvard Law Review*, the object of which was to show that there existed, under a true interpretation of the common law, what might be called a right of privacy, the right of the individual not to be made the object of offensive publicity. Their inquiry might be called a purely speculative, academic one. It certainly did not of itself have authority to establish any principle as a legal right. But the research was conducted in a scientific manner and was intended to interpret the spirit of the common law. Not many years elapsed before the precise

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question arose in the courts of New York. A young woman had been annoyed and humiliated by having her portrait used on flour barrels to advertise what was designated as the "Flour of the Family." It is true that Judge Parker rejected Mr. Brandeis' suggestion and held that because the young woman was not technically "libeled" by the advertisement, she had no grounds of recovery. Other courts, too, have taken the same position. But there are decisions the other way, and the criticism and dissatisfaction expressed at the decisions which refuse a remedy would seem to indicate that Mr. Brandeis rather than Judge Parker had correctly interpreted the real spirit of the common law. The New York legislature proceeded to pass an act explicitly recognizing and protecting, within certain limits a right of privacy.

Some conditions call for direct acts of legislation. Perhaps Judge Parker was right in thinking that was the case in this instance. But it looks as though he were not conscious of the real genius of the common law. Herein lies the difference that separates judicial rules that are drawn from a sacred repository of the dead past and those that are inspired by the immortal spirit of the common law.

The professor should pursue the study of law in much the same way as the judge prepares his opinion. The former does not, indeed, take the concrete case and trace the question involved back to the sources of the principles on which it depends, but he takes rules announced by the court and traces them back to their fountain-head. He then justifies or rejects, academically, so to speak, the conclusion of the court. His method of investigation is the same. His faculties are not sharpened by the conflict and struggle, by the drama that is being enacted before the court; but his historical horizon is larger and clearer, and, if he can keep free of the dangers of a pedantic and subjective treatment of his subject, he has the advantage of greater leisure, of longer perspective, and of a scientific calm. He should be able to reach broader and truer generalizations. The law

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professor should be the complement of the judge, and should be recognized in the community as unofficially filling that role.

Next, I desire to say that I believe that the student should be trained, especially in a state university, all through his course, and with growing emphasis toward its close, on the law of the jurisdiction in which the school is situated. This is a controverted question; but I believe there is no gainsaying this view, and that it will soon be recognized and generally adopted. The necessary qualification for this intensification of study as preparation for the practical lawyer is that the curriculum should be correspondingly more extensive than it commonly is. Even the student who intends to practise in another jurisdiction will not be less well prepared because he knows thoroughly well the law and practice of one jurisdiction, rather than the law and practice of no jurisdiction in particular. Furthermore, states fall into groups in respect to procedure and to the general view of law taken by their courts. A student thoroughly grounded in the practice of any one of the states composing a group will find himself readily at home in any other member of the group.

In thus speaking of the law that may be regarded as peculiar to a particular state, I am thinking of the attitude which may be taken by its appellate courts on questions of private law in general. If such attitude is in conformity to the habits and tendencies of the particular community, the lawyer who is to practise there ought surely to become acquainted with it as soon as he can. If it represents departures from the best conceptions of the common law as held in England and other parts of our country, and is not distinctly in harmony with the customs and inclinations of the people, but has come about through ignorance, shortsightedness, or mistake on the part of the judges, both the law school itself and the lawyers and judges whom it graduates should help bring about the restoration of the true principles.

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There is also another aspect of specialization. A particular state, either alone or as a member of a group, may have special interests or problems governed by special branches of law. Such in California are, especially, the law of mining and the law of water rights. It should be considered as absolutely indispensable that there should be the very best provision obtainable for making such branches of law conspicuous features of the state university law school. Admiralty jurisdiction, it may also be said, is of much greater importance in a state like ours than in a portless interior state.

California, again, occupies a unique position with reference to countries, some of them foreign and some of them under the American flag, which are governed by a system of law other than the common law. Roman law as coming through Spanish channels has a special place in our law curriculum. The general elementary course in Roman law which we conceive to lie at the basis of legal education, should be followed in the last year of the curriculum by more advanced courses in Roman law and by such specialized courses in Spanish law as may be wanted by particular classes of students.

Every university, and especially a state university, which, in addition to its general culture and general training, makes important specializations and shows marked adaptations to its environment, will be a conspicuous institution of preëminent usefulness. Our own university has at least two departments which in this way set it off from nearly every university in the country, and serve the community in direct returns more than it costs to support the whole institution. These are the departments of agriculture and education, and they accomplish this great public benefit by identifying themselves with the interests of the state. It is no less feasible, and no less important and imperative, that the State University should assume a similar attitude toward the most transcendent interest of the state, —the administration of justice, the vindication of right.

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Finally, the law school should be integrated with the whole life of the university. It is only by close association with the scientific activities and by becoming a part thereof, that the law school can fulfill its high functions. If any branch of knowledge calls for university teaching, it is that of law. If any branch of knowledge should be cultivated by university methods and according to university standards, it is that of law.

I have but faintly touched upon a subject which might be treated with great elaboration. I have spoken, too, of the law school in one of its aspects only, as a school for the training of lawyers. There is another great function, the development of legal research. It is largely from that point of view, I believe, that Johns Hopkins University, imitating her own brilliant example of building up a school of medical science rather than a school for training medical practitioners, is contemplating the establishment of a School of Jurisprudence. The law faculty of Columbia University, likewise, seems to be dominated with the same view of the subject in the earnest consideration which I understand it is giving to the problems of legal education and legal research.

We are assembled here to-day to dedicate this building to the service of the highest interest of the state. This edifice is destined to last as long as any civilization which we can conceive of shall endure. Flames cannot devour it; earthquake cannot overthrow it. It is built into the very ribs of the earth, and the structure that rises above is firmer than nature's own accomplishment. That it should be characterized by strength and permanence, is becoming the supreme intellectual and moral purpose which the building subserves. That it stands as a memorial to a distinguished and honorable minister of the law, is also a matter of special gratification. At the portals of this structure, then, we who are now charged with the duty of teaching law in Berkeley, pledge to you, Mrs. Boalt, our utmost

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devotion in the performance of the great responsibilities laid upon our shoulders; and for the pleasure it may give you, and the honor it may reflect on the memory of your husband, we hope that you will see here an institution of great, of commanding influence. And, on behalf of the students, a portion of the choice product of this commonwealth, who are now utilizing and enjoying the opportunities afforded them by the library and all parts of the building, and who have taken upon themselves the conservation and cherishing care thereof, I thank you for the priceless benefaction you have made to them and their successors. And, again, Mrs. Boalt, to you, and to the generous lawyers and judges of the state, who enlarged your benefaction and made it immediately available, and whose service is commemorated on the tablet over the door of the reading-room, I pledge again the combined efforts of faculty and students to cultivate, promote, elevate, here in these academic halls and abroad in the forum and marts of the world, that law, whose wisdom, in the words of Lord Coke, is wiser than any man's wisdom.

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ADDRESS AT THE DEDICATION OF THE BOALT MEMORIAL HALL OF LAW.*

CHARLES S. WHEELER.

Ours, of course, is a government of laws; but how many of us have stopped to consider what that means? It might well be said that this is a government of written laws, for all of our law, in a large sense, is written law. The organic law of the nation—the Constitution of the United States—is a part of that written law. The organic act of the state—the state Constitution—is a part of that written law. The acts of Congress and the acts of the state legislature are a part of that written law. Therein specific provisions are made, but in the vast multitude of human affairs not covered by these specific provisions, we nevertheless have the written law; for each and all of the circumstances that may arise in human affairs are covered by the sweeping legislative declaration, applicable alike in the courts of the nation and in the courts of the state, that where the rule of decision is not specifically set forth in the statute of the nation or of the state, then the common law is the rule of decision. And thus it is that, through that final sweeping written declaration, there is brought into our jurisprudence all of that great mass of law which may itself be either written or unwritten, but which, when ascertained by the Courts, finds its place with us by virtue of our written law. And our whole social organization—the life we live,

* Delivered at the Boalt Memorial Hall of Law, April 28, 1911.

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the fact that we move and have our being, so far as organized society goes—finds its sanction in this written law. It is this written law that determines the legitimacy of our birth. It is this written law that protects us in our homes from the cradle to the grave. It is this written law that dictates our schooling in our childhood, in our youth, in our young manhood and womanhood. It is this written law that determines the legitimacy of our marriage. It is this written law that governs all of our business relations in life, directly and otherwise. It is this written law that closes our affairs when we shall have passed away, and determines what shall become of the accumulations of a perhaps busy life. It protects us as we sleep from the individual enemy. It protects us in stirring times from the collective enemies of state and nation. It is this written law, then, that plans and molds and sets in motion and regulates the whole structure of organized society. It is to the perfection and fulfillment of the purposes of law that this building is here this day dedicated—the purposes of organized society.

The Constitution of the United States was declared by the late William E. Gladstone to be "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." Under that Constitution, for now one hundred and twenty-two years, this government has lived, and with that Constitution as its chart it has succeeded in steering its ship of state safely past the rocks and the shoals that have gathered by the way.

The arbitrament of blood has answered a few questions. The arbitrament of the law itself, through the legal arm of the government, has answered most of the vital problems that have presented themselves in the past century and a quarter. And when you stop to consider that that Constitution—designed when the population of this whole nation was less than the population of the State of California to-day—when you realize the enormous progress that has been made in the course of this century and more—indeed you must feel prepared to agree that a document which

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could serve as a chart through these troublesome years justifies fully the encomium that Gladstone laid upon it.

Our institutions have stood the strain for one hundred and twenty-two years under that Constitution. And what has been the relation of the Bar to our government during that long period of time? First of all, this Constitution did not spring forth out of nothing. It was built upon the experience of the ages. All that careful study of careful lawyers, liberty-loving statesmen—all that they could cull from time itself was brought to bear in order that this government might thus have its firm foundation. It is not a matter for other than gratification, surely, to the Bar of the United States, that, of the signers of the Declaration of American Independence, more than three fifths should have been members of the young American Bar. It is not a matter for other than pride to know that it was to the Bar itself that this Constitution owes its perfection. During the years that have passed, the responsibilities laid upon the American Bar have been such as have never before been laid upon the lawyers of any land. One of the three co-ordinate branches of the Government itself is selected wholly from the profession of the law. The legal department of the government can exist only through the Bar. But in addition to their exclusive occupation of the judicial branch of the state and national governments, the lawyers have been called upon to furnish four-fifths and more of the presidents of the United States, while they have been found in all of the activities of legislative and political life—in the Senate, in Congress, in the Cabinet—occupying the executive departments of states, and prominent in the legislative departments of the states also.

The record of the Bar, measured by and large, has, during these one hundred and twenty-two years and more, been one of signal honor. The question that confronts us from now on is will the Bar be able to bear for the future the tremendous burden which our system of government lays upon it? In the past, as I have said, the arbitrament of

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law has met satisfactorily the greatest questions that our growing age could conceive and give birth to. Think of it for a moment! Half a century ago, a railroad was scarcely known. Now, railroads have so grown that they have interlaced our continent, over the world and under the world, and criss-cross, as it were, until now, could you set end on end the single trackage of railroads in these United States, it would reach from this spot to the moon, and could you add the double trackage and the sidings, far, far into space beyond the moon would the railroad lines of the United States to-day extend! So vast, so enormous, is the earning capacity of these gigantic institutions, that they have exceeded by more than one hundred millions of dollars in their gross receipts for the year just past the total circulating medium of the whole United States for that same year! Think of the problems never before conceived of by the brain of man that legislation and Bench and Bar have been called upon to meet and to solve in this last half century! And you who would think that the law is slow, stand in the presence of that one circumstance and see to-day how these great interests stand with heads bowed in acknowledgment of the truths that common carriers exist for all men alike, that the government has the right to insist upon the performance by them of their public duties, and that these railroads do not belong to the individuals who chance to own their stock in the sense that other private property in which the public is not concerned, belongs to the individual who chances to own it!

This is but one of the many vast problems which Bench and Bar have been called upon to cope with. Let me include both all by saying that despite their shortcomings and notwithstanding inadequacy here and there, and notwithstanding the just criticism that may here and there properly be heaped upon them, the Bench and Bar of the United States of America deserve all that they have had of praise, deserve all that a grateful people can say to a branch of their government which, notwithstanding trials and

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struggles, and vast and unexpected problems, has, nevertheless, in the main fairly, fully, courageously, and conscientiously met the issue and fulfilled its obligations.

In the vast responsibilities thus laid upon the legal profession, we find the justification—if justification, indeed, were required—for a painstaking care at the hands of the state in the development and control and the shaping of that profession. The governmental problems of the past one hundred years will appear small when compared with the problems of the next one hundred years. Will our men be able to meet them? The problems of the next quarter of a century will put upon our institutions a strain such as the combined strain of the past five times twenty-five years has not put upon those same institutions. Men must be prepared to meet these problems—men grounded in righteousness, men grounded in education, in training, in self-control, in patriotic love of country, and, above all, in a complete love of justice and of their fellow men. It is along the lines of justice that these great problems must be solved if they are to be solved. It is not the justice of the radical —whether he be found at one pole of the social sphere or at the other; for radicals exist as well at one pole as at the other. It is justice for the many, special privileges for none; for that is the essential genius of democracy. The only privilege that shall be conferred in a genuine democracy is equality of opportunity, and that is a privilege to be shared by every young man and every young woman. That is the keystone of our democratic arch—equality of opportunity! And if the strain upon our institutions to which I have referred does come—and I believe it is inevitable—it will come because men will believe that then existing conditions are such that there is a denial of equal opportunity. And then arises the question: shall we be able, and will those who are to follow us in the next third of a century be able, to meet the conditions and solve the grave questions as they arise? Just here let me say that upon all these matters I stand as an optimist. I believe

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that these problems will all be solved. I believe that they will all be solved within the Constitution, and that the Constitution which could stretch its arms out over one hundred millions of people, as well as over two or three millions, will be able to find within itself the necessary flexibility and durability for the solution of all these questions.

Let me not pass on without one suggestion. It has never been true that the Constitution of the United States exalts property above humanity. In these days, when our Constitution has its enemies, it is not unusual to hear it asserted that the Constitution of our fathers is a Constitution that sets property above humanity. It is not true. Humanity, under that Constitution, stands first. Life and liberty are the first considerations. Property, under that Constitution, for example, is not so exalted that it may roll itself into gigantic proportions and thus remain intact, attracting to itself in families the power that attends vast wealth, through generation after generation. This might tend to the destruction of our democratic institutions themselves. It is not true; for there is no constitutional right that any man or any woman possesses, to pass on to others, beyond the time of the period of his own life, the property which he considers that he owns. There is no ownership of property that gives to you or to me the right, under the Constitution—the indestructible right, the right that cannot be taken away from us at the will of the legislature or of Congress—the right to pass that property on to those who come after us. All of the property rights which you enjoy to-day, let me assure you, stand upon no firmer basis under the Constitution of the United States than this: your property is vested in you while you live, but your right to pass your property by will is not a vested or a constitutional right, and the legislature may to-morrow, and before your death, take that right away from you. If you do not make a will, the right to have your property descend to your heirs is not a right that depends upon any constitutional provision or guaranty. It is a right which rests only with

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the legislature of the state in which you live; and to-morrow, should it become the pleasure of the law-making power that nothing shall pass, either by will or by descent, from an individual to the natural objects of his affection, at the time of his death, then the legislature has the right and the power so to declare, and there is no constitutional provision that would prevent the escheat of every dollar of property to the state at the time of the death of the individual.

Now, we are facing problems of the future. You will not understand me as being opposed either to the statute of distributions—that "transcript of the human affections" —or to statutes which permit the disposition of property by will. I do, however, call the fact to your attention, that here, within the Constitution, and untrammelled by any constitutional objection, there exists, through the absolute dominion of the state over the property of decedents, the most gigantic power in the hands of the people, which, without constitutional amendment, they may use if they will in order to curb the gigantic aggregation and selfish accumulation by single individuals, or by groups of individuals, of so much wealth, with its attendant power, that they threaten our democracy. This power thus resting in the hands of the people must be used wisely. It must not be abused. I think that you have no occasion to fear its abuse. It is not to be supposed that in applying a remedy the legislatures will go so far as to deprive the child of a reasonable heritage. The power, of course, will not be carried to extremes unless our people lose their heads and determine upon a new order of society. It is not to be expected that the widow or those who come after her will be deprived of reasonable property—and by "reasonable" make it anything that you please, into the millions if you want; but if hundreds of millions gathered together in gigantic aggregations be indeed a menace, as some men believe them to be, and if these enormous aggregations of wealth are going to present and confront us with a vast and dangerous problem for the future, I have made my

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point if I have satisfied you, one and all, that a remedy can be found within our Constitution, by appropriate legislation, which shall regulate the devolution of the property of decedents.

These problems are to be solved. They must be solved sanely. They must be solved wisely. I have shown you one line on which they may be solved within the Constitution. Many others might be pointed out; but remember this, that the Constitution of our fathers is big enough, and fine enough, and flexible enough, to meet all the conditions of another century and a quarter, as well as it has met the conditions of the last century and a quarter.

Now, coming from that: those who are to solve the problems within the next generation—let us say, the next third of a century—will, a great many of them, come from just such institutions as this. How well it is then that the state itself should father the cause; that California herself should prepare her sons for wise thinking, should educate them to clear thinking, to sane thinking, to unradical thinking—that thinking that is not so unradical that it is not courageous; that sane thinking that is not so violent that it is unjust. Here the problems will, in large part, be solved for the State of California; for from these halls will come the men upon whom a large part of the burden will rest—as heavy a burden upon each individual as rested upon Alexander Hamilton and Madison and John Adams and Rutledge, and all the other patriots of blessed memory. These problems will come before these sons of California soon, and will go on increasing and becoming more and more complex, I dare say, demanding more and more specialization and preparation, as the century advances still further than the first third to which I have referred. Right here, in the permanency of these halls, will rest, in a large part, the permanency and safety of our institutions; provided always that the fundamental conception of justice and the purpose of organized society—the dispensation of justice—provided always that that purpose be kept in

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the foreground, and that men are trained not to love mere academic problems, but trained to love that which the academic problem serves but as a tool to develop—the sense of right, the sense of justice!

It is fitting that this institution, destined to have so important an influence in the affairs of the state and of the nation—it is fitting that it should bear the name of Boalt—Judge John Henry Boalt! Robert Louis Stevenson said of him that he was "the highest type of the American gentleman that he had ever met." Lawyers would say of him, that he was one of the highest types of the American lawyer to be met with throughout the length and breadth of this land. This building, in the largest sense, is erected with a part of the earnings of a lifetime of honorable service, in an honorable profession. Not one dollar has gone into it that was not earned in the full open sunlight of honorable professional practice. The man whose name this building bears was the heir of all the ages. He loved art; he loved letters; he loved music; but, above all, he loved mankind. His philosophy was of the hopeful and optimistic sort. There was no despair in it. His name should stand as an inspiration for every man who passes through these doors. Let it be our fond hope and our earnest prayer that in the years to come, through the integrity, through the character, through the patriotism, through the preparedness of its men to carry on the work of the fathers for the preservation of this land—that through these results the name of John Henry Boalt will live on and on.

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CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE SCHOOLS AND THE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE*

ERNEST B. BABCOCK.

Most of the higher institutions of learning giving instruction in agriculture are now interested in the problems connected with teaching agriculture and allied subjects in the public schools. Many of them are actively engaged in extending aid to teachers, school boards, and superintendents who are grappling with these problems, and also in trying to awaken an intelligent interest in these matters on the part of school people who are still following the older regime for one reason or another. This phase of extension work indicates a line of activity on the part of Colleges of Agriculture, Experiment Stations, Normal Schools, and the United States Department of Agriculture which is of very recent development. In the first report of the Committee on Extension Work, of the Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations, made in November, 1906, the following definition of extension work was formulated: "Extension teaching in agriculture embraces those forms of instruction, in subjects having to do with improved methods of agricultural production and with the general welfare of the rural population, that are offered to people not enrolled as resident pupils in educational institutions."

* Lecture delivered September 22, 1910, in Education 12, the Schools of California.

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The rise in importance of extension work for schools has taken place almost entirely in the last four years. Especially since the Roosevelt Country Life Commission announced its important findings relative to the needs of American farmers and the rural population generally has this movement reached a stage of educational and commercial importance which is of vast significance in several states, especially the Middle Western and some of the Southern States.

The California College of Agriculture has been slower than those of many states in taking up this work, largely because of the lack of demand on the part of school authorities and partly because of the absence of legislation compelling instruction in agriculture in the public schools. Of course, in those states where such laws were made, such as Oklahoma and Wisconsin, the attention of the people, of teachers, and the College of Agriculture in particular, has been constrained. But it is still an open question whether the results secured in those states justify this method of procedure; while, on the other hand, the remarkable achievments of certain county superintendents in other states—Illinois and Iowa, for example—show what can be accomplished through proper leadership. Had California been blessed with a Kern or a Miller among her school superintendents, the College of Agriculture might have been drawn into some forms of co-operative work with the schools years ago.

However, without either the demands of compelling legislation or the stimulus of noteworthy examples in our midst, there has gradually developed a widespread desire to teach agriculture in the public schools of California. This exists to-day as the inevitable result of many unorganized efforts on the part of individuals and educational institutions, the suggestions of popular books, the public press, certain publications of this Experiment Station, and the production of a new text suited to California conditions. As a result agricultural education was in 1910 given for

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the first time a place on the programs of the State Teachers' Associations. Members of our college faculty representing agricultural education have accepted invitations to take part in these meetings. This is one of our ways of co-operating.

Our first effort took the form of a circular on school gardens, which was written before there was any special provision for such publications and before the division of Agricultural Education was established. Owing to shortage of funds for experiment station printing the publication of this circular was delayed for one year. Meanwhile another circular was prepared on secondary school agriculture. A special appropriation by the Board of Regents for agricultural education made it possible to issue these circulars. Over ten thousand copies of the garden circular were distributed to elementary school teachers and about two thousand pamphlets on high school agriculture. It is impossible to estimate how much good has been accomplished by these publications. But we are led to believe that these circulars have done their share in molding public opinion at least.

The problems of the high schools are simple as compared with problems of the elementary schools in attempting to introduce agriculture. Ordinarily a high school will not attempt a new course without first securing a teacher who is competent to handle it. But a county board of education votes to make agriculture a required subject in the seventh and eighth grades and selects a text. It remains for the individual teacher to meet the situation and to see that the boys and girls are ready to pass the county examinations on the text book, no matter whether the children have really learned anything from actual experience in agricultural practice or not! Here is a serious problem. It was in anticipation of this and a similar problem in the attempt to teach nature-study that the circular on school gardens was written. From this small beginning we are proceeding by various means in the effort to better serve

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the State by helping the people actually to realize the full intent of our recent legislative act, which provides for "oral instruction in nature-study with special reference to agriculture."

Obviously the chief obstacle in the way of realizing this aim is the lack of training on the part of teachers. In recent years some of our normal schools have been trying to supply this deficiency, but there are many recent graduates, as well as most of the rank and file of present day teachers, who do not feel, and really are not, adequately prepared to teach nature-study with reference to agriculture. Even an excellent text cannot supply the lack of actual experience to the teacher. With these obstacles before us the division of agricultural education has undertaken by several ways to reach and help the individual teachers, to encourage effort on their part to secure some of the lacking experience, to make some small beginnings at least in their schools in the hope that they may find what many others have discovered—that a teacher can study a new thing with the pupils in the spirit of co-partnership and while so doing secure a new hold on the pupils and fresh interest in the work.

Some of the methods by which the College has aimed to help the teachers are as follows:

(1) Organizing and conducting school garden work. Since the publication of the circular on school gardens there has been a growing demand for assistance in starting this work. Many teachers have been advised to begin with the improvement and decoration of school and home grounds. In this connection the College is conducting a tree seed exchange. The native and exotic trees on the University campus and on the streets of Berkeley are being studied, their seed collected and tested for their germination period. Desirable trees whose seeds germinate quickly are the best for use in the schools. Seeds of these selected trees are sent to teachers desiring to begin this work. These teachers are requested to have their pupils collect the seeds of trees

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growing in their locality and exchange with the Station. It is hoped that in time a system of exchange may be developed among the schools themselves so that eventually every school may have a representative collection of valuable trees and every child may know the value of a tree and a forest from having actually raised trees from the seed.

(2) Organizing for encouraging nature-study in the public schools.—In the Nature-Study Section of the California Teachers' Association in December, 1909, there was organized the California Branch of the American Nature-Study Society. This is an organization of teachers and other people who are interested in education, particularly in those problems connected with the adequate preparation of youth for their future life occupations. It is held that nature-study in the broad sense, including the rearing and care of animals and plants, can be made such a valuable portion of elementary and high school work that it is incumbent upon all interested parties to unite and concentrate the many scattered efforts through one organization with its organ, the Nature-Study Review. The California Branch of the American Nature-Study Society is growing slowly but surely and will no doubt be useful for years to come in vitalizing teaching in the public schools.

(3) University instruction for teachers.—Courses have now been maintained for two years including summer sessions, both for elementary and high school teachers, in nature-study, school gardens, and agriculture. For the high school teachers' certificate a wide range of work in agricultural subjects and the sciences is required. During the summer session of 1910 a class of twenty high school principals and teachers showed keen, sustained interest in the problem of working out a course in horticulture for California high schools. There have always been a few earnest young men and women ready to avail themselves of the opportunity for practical preparation in the school garden course, having gardens of their own under the joint direction of the divisions of agricultural education and horticulture.

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(4) Visiting, teaching and supervising.—Since the organization of this division there have been numerous requests to visit schools and give advice and assistance. In the elementary schools the problem of supervision is more difficult than in the high schools. Recognizing the vast importance of the MacDonald system of traveling supervisors as practiced in the Province of Ontario, Canada, it was determined to demonstrate the feasibility of similar supervision in a few schools of Alameda County. An instructor in this division makes weekly trips to San Leandro, San Lorenzo, Decoto and Niles. At present he is teaching the classes in agriculture and later on will assist in starting the school gardens. School boards and teachers were cordial in welcoming this advance on the part of the College and it is hoped that the school people in the State will be convinced of the desirability of such supervision, but that it will be found practicable to provide it within the limits of each county. Four other instances of this sort are known in California to-day. Mr. I. J. Condit and Mr. F. E. Edwards, instructors in the California Polytechnic School, of San Luis Obispo, are making occasional trips to elementary schools in San Luis Obispo County, assisting in the organization of agricultural clubs, starting school gardens, etc. Miss Claire A. Healy, teacher of agriculture in the Salinas High School, has been commissioned by the County Superintendent to make similar visits among the schools of Monterey County. The City of San Diego has appointed Mr. John W. Wilkinson supervisor of agriculture and horticulture. Definite plans for school gardens are being put in operation in all the schools of the city and along with this goes the organization of boys' and girls' agricultural clubs. During 1910 these clubs studied poultry raising. In the City of Los Angeles fifty grammar grade teachers meet weekly with Dr. N. L. Gardner, of the Polytechnic High School, for demonstrations of experiments which they may use in teaching agriculture. Thus it is seen that in one way or another the problem of preparing and supervising

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teachers is being met. That the greatest possible result may be accomplished this must receive wider attention in the near future.

(5) Publishing circulars and leaflets.—Besides the circulars already issued, the following series of helps for elementary school teachers were issued during the present fiscal year (1910-1911):

A Course in Gardening and Agriculture.
Tree Study and Tree Growing in the Public Schools.
"The Junior Agriculturist," a bi-weekly four-page leaflet, sent free to grammar schools pupils who have gardens at home or at school.

There is already published a circular of thirty-six pages containing a valuable set of exercises with plants and soils for use in high schools.

(6) Assisting at Teachers' Meetings.—All the members of this division meet occasionally with teachers to discuss aims, ways and means, text books, etc. This is mostly in connection with teachers' institutes and associations, but occasionally with local associations and clubs.

(7) Organizing excursions of teachers to University Stations.—In 1909 the teachers of Sacramento and Yolo Counties spent one day at the University Farm. In 1910 the teachers of Glenn County did likewise. The teachers in attendance at the Central California Association in Fresno in 1909 were invited to visit Kearney Park.

(8) Organizing boys' and girls' clubs.—Special circulars were issued in 1909 urging that such clubs be organized in rural schools, but the field was too great to reach the individual school satisfactorily. This year (1910) we are working through the various supervisors already mentioned and individual teachers who are interested. Educational sets of cereal seeds were prepared, each set to contain eight types of wheat, four types of barley and three types of oats; sufficient seed of each to sow a hundred square feet. These sets were sent free of charge to clubs or schools when requested by the teacher.

(9) Assisting with the demonstration train.—Besides installing an exhibit of photographs representing the work

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in agriculture in secondary schools in California, this office notifies personally the principals or teachers in the schools at every point where the demonstration train is scheduled to stop. The grammar grade pupils are invited to visit the train in organized fashion under the supervision of their teachers. During the season of 1909-1910 over seventy thousand persons visited the train during its trips in this state. A small percentage of these visitors were school children.

Besides the methods already described one should not fail to mention the routine correspondence with superintendents, principals, teachers, and others interested in the work, and the preparation of articles for newspapers and periodicals. Then there are valuable means for assisting teachers which we have not yet been able to make use of. For example, conducting co-operative experiments at schools as a phase of university extension in agriculture; assisting high school teachers to study social and economic questions of agriculture, including systems of farm management; conducting agricultural correspondence courses for teachers; sending out model agricultural traveling libraries; providing a special short course in agriculture for high school teachers at the University Farm.

It may be asserted that some of the work reviewed above must fall under the head of propagandism. When the school people of California awake to their opportunities and are ready to make use of the assistance which the University should be prepared to furnish, effort of that sort will naturally cease and we shall need a regular "extension staff" on which there shall be members especially fitted to co-operate with the schools. The College of Agriculture must continue to give instruction to prospective teachers. But the time is ripe for a separation of the three phases of agricultural activity—teaching, research, and extension—with a separate staff for each. The State should realize the distinct value of each of these three lines of work and adequately provide for them.

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UNIVERSITY RECORD

ALBERT H. ALLEN

REGENTS AND FACULTY

APPOINTMENTS

At the Regents' meetings of May 9 and June 13, the following appointments were made:

F. Wilmsen, Associate Professor of French (instead of Associate Professor of French and German as originally appointed in April).

Herbert G. Lull, Acting Assistant Professor of Education.

George Innes Gay, B.S., Colorado, '09, Instructor in Civil Engineering.

Dr. John N. Force, '98, Lecturer in Hygiene; Allan P. Matthew, '03, Lecturer on the Law of Interstate Commerce.

Ella K. Walker, Senior Assistant in the Library; Roscoe F. Sanford, Mills Assistant in the Lick Observatory (at Santiago, Chile, succeeding Assistant Astronomer George F. Paddock, resigned); Harold L. Bruce, '08, and Sigurd B. Hustvedt, Luther College, '02, Teaching Fellows in English; Cardinal L. Goodwin and Charles E. Chapman, Teaching Fellows in History; Fritz Konrad Krüger, Teaching Fellow in Political Science.

Assistants: Harley P. Chandler, Botany; Robert G. Davies and E. F. Davis, Geology and Mineralogy; R. L. Cooke, D. J. Cone, F. C. Czarneckie, G. I. Johnstone, Vyacheslav Petrovsky, L. C. Smith and W. S. Wake, Physics; Asa C. Chandler, Charles W. Fender and Dunnleigh Corey, Zoology.

Edward D. Thayer, Jr., Assistant Secretary in the Department of Anthropology, succeeding Mrs. E. G. Field, resigned.

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RESIGNATIONS

J. T. Gerig has declined the appointment made at the April meeting of the Regents as Associate Professor of French and of Celtic Philology. T. J. Wrampelmeier, as Lecturer in Technical Chemistry, E. E. Behr and J. A. Sampson, as Assistants in Physics, and W. A. McKee as Clerk of the Mining Department, have also declined.

Dr. J. Frederick Wolle, Professor of Music, has been given leave of absence for the year 1911-12, and it is understood that he will not return to the University, but will resume his work of directing the Bach festivals at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

DEATH OF REGENT JOHNSON

Regent Frank S. Johnson was fatally injured by falling under the wheels while trying to board a Northwestern Pacific electric train at Kentfield, Marin County, on June 22, and died a few minutes after he was brought to the railroad's emergency hospital at Sausalito.

Mr. Johnson was president of the Johnson-Locke Mercantile Company of San Francisco and was made a Regent of the University by Governor Gillette in 1908, succeeding Regent Waymire on the expiration of the latter's term. He was fifty-eight years of age, born in Auburn, Placer County, and leaves a widow and two sons.

REGENTS' RESOLUTIONS IN MEMORY OF J. B. REINSTEIN

At a meeting of the Regents on June 13 the following resolutions were adopted:

The Regents of the University of California record in the death of Jacob Bert Reinstein the passing of an able, energetic, farsighted, loyal and highminded alumnus and Regent of the University and citizen of the State.

To mention his services to the University would be to enumerate the things that have made the institution great. To whatever detail he lent his mind for the moment, it was all part of a comprehensive ideal toward which the University should be built. In this view he was active as President of the Alumni Association in mobilizing and energizing that body in the service of their Alma Mater. In this view, he threw himself with such fervor into the athletic interests and other student activities that football seemed to be a passion of his. In this view, he organized the

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"Labor Day" project of the student body. In this view, he planned the devotion of a certain portion of the State appropriations for scholarships distributed among the Congressional Districts. In this same view, he suggested to Mr. Levi Strauss the institution of an equal number of scholarships supported by private generosity.

The same motives and principles were at the bottom of his interest and activity in securing support from the State in varied legislation, especially, the second one-cent tax. The same motives underlay his promotion of Farmers' Institutes and the extension of the work of the College of Agriculture to the direct advancement of the interests of the State. The same motives, too, underlay his general support of the professional colleges, and, above all, his intelligent, patient and persistent devotion to the encouragement of medical education. It was the same object, that he became infatuated with the idea of providing a splendid architectural scheme for the appropriate housing of the University. If his most signal services are connected with the first presentation to the Regents of a comprehensive architectural plan, and then with the execution of the Phoebe A. Hearst Architectural Competition, they are, nevertheless, but parts of one large-minded, far-sighted design for the development of the University to its utmost possibilities as representing the educational interests of the State.

His attitude on all questions was statesmanlike. Every consideration was weighed by him in respect to its bearing on the interests of the Commonwealth. His two passions were the University of California and the City of San Francisco. But these to him were parts and agents and instrumentalities of the State. His ultimate thought always was, what would redound to the glory and honor of California.

There was much that was grandiose in his view of things, that was dramatic in his action. Nothing was too magnificent or splendid for his conception. But behind his idealism, and the gorgeousness in which he loved to clothe his pictures, there was a practicality of means and methods or realization. He sketched his schemes in broad, comprehensive outlines and in alluring colors; he then filled in the details with utmost care and patience and toned down the color to suit the practical everyday purpose.

In personal relations, he was the most loyal, affectionate and dependable of friends. Whatever and whomever he loved, he loved utterly. Devoted himself to the public service, he demanded of whoever served the public in any capacity that he serve unselfishly and unsparingly. Keenly and painfully sensitive to criticism and misunderstanding, his comfort and encouragement

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came back to him from those who responded with like fervor to his ardent affection.

(Signed) GARRET W. MCENERNEY.
FRANK S. JOHNSON.
A. W. FOSTER.
GUY C. EARL.
Special Committee on Resolutions.

AUTOMATIC INCREASES IN SALARIES

The Regents on May 9 confirmed the following recommendation of the Finance Committee:

That it be of record that with the adoption of the budget for 1909-10, the Regents inaugurated a system of automatic increases in salaries, whereby an instructor's salary is increased automatically $100 per year from $1,000 to $1,500, and the salaries of assistant professors $100 a year from $1,600 up to $2,000; and that the automatic increases do not apply to members of the faculty below the rank of instructor, nor above the rank of assistant professor, and that there is no automatic increase after instructors have arrived at a salary of $1,500, and after assistant professors have arrived at a salary of $2,000; further, that increases are not automatic in the salaries of members of the faculty who are on part time only, as, for instance, certain members of the Departments of Architecture and Law, nor in the case of the Affiliated Colleges, the Department of Agriculture, the Wilmerding School, etc.; nor in the case of instructors and assistant professors for a year of absence on leave, the two-thirds salary while on leave being based normally on the salary of the previous year, unincreased; and, further, that increases may, of course, be given in the cases cited above, in which no automatic increase is due as of right. Larger increases than of $100 are of course sometimes made at the discretion of the President, with the approval of the Regents.

COMMENCEMENT DAY.

The forty-eighth Commencement was held in the Greek Theatre on the morning of Wednesday, May 17, 1911. The student speakers, with their subjects, were: Robert Harrison Moulton (Commerce), "The Problem of the Modern University;" Aaron Leland Sapiro, M. A. (Law), "Law as a Training for Citizenship;" Rose Gardner (Letters), "The Self-Government of College Women;" Howard Hamel Krueger (Letters), "Is Poetry Unpractical?"

Rev. Charles A. Ramm, '84, delivered the invocation and the benediction. President Wheeler addressed the candidates for

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degrees, awarded the University Medal, and conferred the degrees. Governor Hiram W. Johnson delivered to the cadet officers their commissions.

For the academic year, 1910-11, there were in all 541 degrees conferred, of which 69 belong to December, 1910. Of the 472 degrees conferred in May, 71 were taken by students in the professional departments of Pharmacy, Dentistry, Medicine, and Law.

The degrees of Juris Doctor and Doctor of Philosophy were conferred as follows:

The degree of Juris Doctor (College of Social Sciences) upon Alma D. Ericksen, A.B. (Brigham Young College) 1908, Preston, Idaho (Thesis: Extra-lateral rights in conflicting mining locations); Milton Thomas Farmer, B.L. 1909, Hanford (Thesis: The legal status of the associated students of the University of California); Robert McFarlin Ford, A.B. (Stanford University) 1910, Oakland (Thesis: "Known lodes," with special reference to the exception of such lodes from placer patents); Hubert Don Hoover, B.L. 1909, Lompoc (Thesis: The effect of an exception clause in a federal land patent); Stephen Frank Otis, B.L. 1908, Alameda (Thesis: Gambling on horse races, particularly with reference to the laws of California thereon); Clifford Coleman Pease, A.B. (University of Wisconsin) 1904, Berkeley (Thesis: The earthquake clauses in fire insurance policies); Godwin Bourne Swift, B.L. 1909, Marysville (Thesis: The doctrine of Paine vs. Meller, 6 Vesey 349.

The degree of Juris Doctor (College of Letters) upon Frederick Folger Thomas, Jr., A.B. 1908, Berkeley (Thesis: Public policy in life insurance.

The degree of Doctor of Philosophy (College of Agriculture) upon Joseph Eames Greaves, Physiological Chemistry, Soil Bacteriology, Organic and Agricultural Chemistry, B.S. (Utah Agricultural College) 1904, M.S. (University of Illinois) 1908, Logan City, Utah (Thesis: Some factors influencing the quantitative determination of gliadin).

The degree of Doctor of Philosophy (College of Natural Sciences) upon Hiram Wheeler Edwards, B.S. 1908, Physics, Mechanics, Morganhill (Thesis: The resistance of certain linear conductors to alternating currents of high frequency); Arthur Russell Moore, A.B. (University of Nebraska) 1904, Physiology, Botany, Goldfield, Nevada (Thesis: On Mendelian dominance).

The degree of Doctor of Philosophy (College of Letters) upon Annie Dale Biddle, A.B. 1908, Mathematics, English, Hanford

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(Thesis: Constructive theory of the unicursal plane quartic by synthetic methods); Monroe Emanuel Deutsch, A. B. 1902, M.A. 1903, Latin, Greek, Berkeley (Thesis: Notes on the text of the corpus Tibullianum); John Alden Mason, A.B. (University of Pennsylvania) 1907, Anthropology, Linguistics, Sociology, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Thesis: The ethnology of the Salinan Indians).

PRIZES.

The various University prizes for 1910-11 have been awarded as follows:

The Bonnheim Dissertation Prize (Upper Division: Charles Kasch, of the class of 1911, College of Social Sciences; Herbert Charles Kelly, a student at large, College of Natural Sciences; Tracy Barrett Kittredge, of the class of 1912, College of Letters; Angus Combs Madden, of the class of 1911, College of Commerce.

The Bonnheim Dissertation Prize (Lower Division): Arthur Peronneau Hayne, of the class of 1913, College of Social Sciences; Susanna Isalene Martin, of the class of 1914, College of Natural Sciences; William Glenn Marvin, of the class of 1914, College of Social Sciences; Hugh Joel Weldon, of the class of 1913, College of Social Sciences.

The Bonnheim Discussion Prize (Upper Division): Angus Combs Madden, of the class of 1911, College of Commerce.

The Bonnheim Discussion Prize (Lower Division): William Glenn Marvin, of the class of 1914, College of Social Sciences.

The Bryce Historical Essay Prize: Marjorie Webber, of the class of 1911, College of Social Sciences; honorable mention, Bertha May Bunker, A.B. (University of Indiana) 1910, a graduate student, College of Social Sciences.

The Emily Chamberlain Cook Prize in Poetry: Alice Lorraine Andrews, of the class of 1912, College of Letters.

The W. C. T. U. Essay Prize: Annie Dale Biddle, A.B., candidate Ph.D., College of Letters.

The University Medal, founded by friends of the University, and awarded annually to the most distinguished graduate of the year: Walter Colton Little, Jr., of the College of Civil Engineering.

AWARDS OF GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS AND FELLOWSHIPS, 1911-12.

The LeConte Memorial Fellowship: Adolph van Hemert Engert (Jurisprudence), B.L. 1908, M.L. 1909, Berkeley.

The Flood Fellowships in Economics: William Charles Fank-

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hauser, A.B. (Pomona College) 1909, M.L. 1910, Claremont; Lillian Ruth Matthews, Ph.B. (University of Iowa) 1903, Berkeley.

The John W. Mackay, Jr., Fellowship in Electrical Engineering: Fred Eugene Pernot, B.S. (Oregon Agricultural College) 1910, Corvallis, Oregon.

The University of California Fellowships: Albert L. Barrows (Zoology), B.S. (Pomona College) 1906, Nordhoff; Charles Wilson Hackett (History), A.B. (University of Texas) 1909, Chilton, Texas; Eli Stewart Haynes (Astronomy), A.B. (University of Missouri) 1905, M.A. 1907, Columbia, Missouri; Myrtle Elizabeth Johnson (Zoology), B.S. 1908, M.S. 1909, National City; Walter Pierson Kelley (Agricultural Chemistry), B.S. (Kentucky State University), 1904, M.S. (Purdue University) 1907, Honolulu, T. H.; Bertha Eleanor Lowden (English), Ph.B. (Grinnell College) 1903, Seattle, Washington; Bruce Martin (Palaeontology), Candidate B.S. 1911, Waukena; Peter Winebrenner Stoner (Mathematics and Astronomy), A.B. (Kansas Christian College) 1908, M.S. 1910, Orange; Stith Thompson (English), A.B. (University of Wisconsin) 1909, Portland, Oregon.

The Sheffield Sanborn Scholarships: In the College of Medicine, Samuel Ellsworth Bailey, B.S. 1909, Redding; in the course in Jurisprudence at Berkeley, William Keleher Powell, B.L. 1910, Grass Valley; in Hastings College of the Law, Jerome Burke Kavanaugh, San Bernardino.

The James M. Goewey Scholarship: Frank Cuthbert Clarke (Zoology and Entomology), Candidate B.S. 1911, Laytonville.

The Frank M. Pixley Scholarship in Law: Kenneth Irwin Ghormley, A.B. (Whitworth College) 1909, Tacoma, Washington.

The Willard Dawson Thompson Scholarships: Lyman Luther Daines, A.B. (Brigham Young College) 1908, M.A. (University of Utah) 1910, Hyde Park, Utah; Feramorz Young Fox, A.B. (University of Utah) 1906, Salt Lake City, Utah; John William Gardner, A.B. (Brigham Young College) 1908, M.A. (University of Utah) 1910, Logan, Utah; Edward Haslam Walters, B.S. (Utah Agricultural College) 1909, candidate M.S. 1911, Logan, Utah.

The University Fellowship in Pacific Coast History: Lawrence Palmer Briggs, A.B. (University of Michigan) 1905, Ph.M. (University of Chicago) 1908, Berkeley.

The State Fish and Game Commission Fellowship in the University of California: Harold Child Bryant, B.S. (Pomona College) 1908, M.S. 1910, Pasadena.

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Summary of Degrees.

The following table gives a summary of the academic (non-professional) degrees conferred in the past three years:

	1908-09		1909-10		1910-11	
B.A. Letters	30		37		36	
B.L. Social Sciences	148		167		150	
B.S. Natural Sciences	36		51		50	
B.S. Commerce	13		26		19	
B.S. Agriculture	19		22		22	
B.S. Mechanics	28		40		31	
B.S. Mining	34		26		44	
B.S. Civil Engineering	30		31		24	
B.S. Chemistry	5		6		7	
	—	343	—	406	—	383
M.A. Letters	15		20		17	
M.L. Social Sciences	18		22		23	
M.S. Natural Sciences	11		14		20	
M.S. Commerce	....		1		....	
M.S. Agriculture	3		5		10	
M.S. Mechanics	3		1		2	
M.S. Mining	....		1		....	
M.S. Civil Engineering	....		....		....	
M.S. Chemistry	1		3		1	
	—	51	—	67	—	73
Ph.D. Letters	1		1		3	
Ph.D. Social Sciences	3		1		....	
Ph.D. Natural Sciences	6		3		2	
Ph.D. Agriculture	....		1		1	
	—	10	—	6	—	6
J.D. Letters	2		1		1	
J.D. Social Sciences	5		5		7	
	—	7	—	6	—	8
		411		485		470

GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS.

New University Library Occupied.

Early in June the library of the University was moved from its old home in the Bacon Library Building, in which it has grown up since the early seventies, to its new home in the Doe Library Building. The work of moving was so well organized that ten days saw all the books and much of the furniture removed from the old building

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to the new, and by the opening of the Summer Session on June 26 the library staff had so far completed the work of arranging the material on the shelves that the library was ready for use. It will be several months, however, before all the details of the arrangement are completed.

The Bancroft Library was moved at the same time from the third floor of California Hall to the new building, and the office and stock and mailing room of the University Press were also transferred from California Hall.

Plans for the Bacon Library Building.

The old library building will be extensively altered on the interior, and adapted for use by the departments of Geology, Mineralogy and Palaeontology for class-rooms, lecture rooms, laboratories and museum. The space vacated by these departments in South Hall will be available for physics, and the removal of the physics laboratories which are now in East Hall will give more space in the latter building for the zoological laboratories.

The Swimming Pool.

The swimming pool in Strawberry Cañon was opened for the use of the University public early in May, and until the departure of the students after the examinations and Commencement it was well patronized. The pool is for the use of men only, and is open to students who have paid the regular gymnasium fee, to alumni who pay the equivalent of the gymnasium fee, and to members of the faculty. It is open daily from nine to six, in charge of a competent attendant.

Women's Senior Hall.

The Regents have also authorized the construction of the Women's Senior Hall, on Strawberry Creek south of the Greek Theatre. The women students have raised about $3,300 towards its cost, and the Regents will advance about $600 more as a loan, to be repaid by the women students.

1910 Memorial Bridge.

Work has begun on the 1910 Memorial Bridge across Strawberry Creek near the Faculty Club and before the end of summer this attractive addition to the features of the University grounds will be in use. For the bridge the Class of 1910 gave $1000 and Mrs. Hearst $500.

Extension of Testing Laboratory.

The Regents' appropriation of $6,000 has made possible the enlargement of the testing laboratory building of the department of

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Civil Engineering. Two small structures have been razed and upon their site is now being built, under the direction of Mr. Hugill, Superintendent of Grounds, the new wing to the older testing laboratory. This wing provides a large basement for storing materials and aging specimens; four large rooms on the first floor, and a large attic or second floor, generously lighted and ventilated with ceiling skylights. The roof of the main building is to be removed, and the attic floor to be built over the old as well as the new portions. Four new rooms on the first floor are to be devoted to the wood-working department, the sanitary and municipal laboratories, cement room and furnace room. This extension makes possible the use of the first floor of the old building for the expansion of the machine and testing laboratory rooms. The attic over the older building will be used for student lockers, a wash room, and store rooms for materials. The attic over the new portion is to be assigned to a laboratory museum with some space alloted to offices, drafting room, and store room for materials.

With the extensions completed, the floor space of the building will be nearly quadrupled. Within the next two years new equipment already decided upon is to be added, particularly machinery of large capacity for testing. A Universal testing machine of 600,000 pounds capacity is contemplated. The improvements will make the testing laboratory second to none west of the Mississippi River.

The Regents have authorized contracts for a lecture room addition to the Chemistry Building.

The Summer School of Surveying.

The summer school of surveying is conducted in two sessions, each one month in length. This is necessary because of the large number of students. The first session of 1911 started May 18 and closed June 15. On June 15 the students of the second session began work and will leave camp on July 13. The total number of students registered in the first session was 83, of whom 35 were juniors of the College of Civil Engineering, and 48 were freshmen from all engineering colleges. In the second session only students taking freshman surveying were registered, the number being 74.

This is the second year that the school has been held at an established camp in Scott Creek Cañon, Santa Cruz County, within three-quarters of a mile of the ocean coast and about twenty miles north of Santa Cruz, at Swanton, at the present end of the uncompleted Ocean Shore Railroad.

The University has leased about fifty acres for headquarters, where permanent buildings have been built. This year a dining

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pavilion was added and important extensions made to the kitchen. Heretofore students furnished their own cots. This year the University has purchased cots, tent tables, camp chairs, to provide for more than 100 men.

The camp is under the immediate charge of Associate Professor T. B. Sears, who acts with the title of Director. He is assisted by the following instructors: Assistant Professor H. J. Keener, and Messrs. A. C. Alvarez, A. J. Eddy, H. S. Griswold.

MEETINGS AND LECTURES.

Lecture By Sir John Murray.

Before an enthusiastic audience in California Hall Sir John Murray, the noted oceanographer, delivered on May 11 a brilliant account of his researches in the life of the deep sea and of his explorations of the structure and composition of the bottom deposits of the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. The lecture was superbly illustrated by views of the brightly colored and fantastic forms of curious deep-sea fishes discovered by the lecturer in his recent cruise on the Atlantic in the Norwegian fishery research steamer, "Michael Sars." The lecturer explained the chemical composition and origin of the manganese deposits found in vast expanses of the deeper parts of the Pacific in the neighborhood of the volcanic regions. Manganese deposits of related character in the soils of Hawaii are a source of great disaster to the Hawaiian pineapple plantations where they cause a curious bleaching of the leaves of the pineapple plant.

The composition of the "ocean meadows" of microscopic life and their relation to the formation of bottom deposits of deep-sea ooze and to oil-bearing shales on continental slopes were clearly set forth.

The lecturer urged the importance of increased scientific investigations on the Pacific Coast in the interest of the fisheries and told of the remarkable discoveries of the International Commission for the Investigation of the Sea in waters off Northern Europe and the relation of these discoveries to the rich harvest of herring and cod reaped annually on those famous fishing grounds. Similar investigations, said he, should be undertaken in Pacific waters.

The speaker commended warmly the oceanic explorations carried on by the San Diego Marine Biological Laboratory under the auspices of the University, and paid high compliments to the researches of Professor Charles A. Kofoid on the life of the sea, carried on at the University on the foundation provided by the late Alexander Agassiz.

Phi Beta Kappa Address.

The annual Phi Beta Kappa address was delivered in the Greek

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Theatre on the afternoon of Tuesday, May 16, by Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, former president of Princeton University.

Baccalaureate Sermon.

Rev. Charles F. Aked, of the First Congregational Church, San Francisco, delivered the annual Baccalaureate Sermon to the members of the graduating class in the Greek Theatre on the afternoon of Sunday, May 14.

MUSIC AND DRAMA.

The Half-Hour of Music.

April 16.—The University Glee Club and the DeKoven Club, Mr. C. R. Morse director, Mr. R. M. Ford accompanist, assisted by Mr. H. W. Sherwood, '13; Miss Mary Sherwood, accompanist.

April 23.—Mr. Ashley Pettis, pianist.

April 30.—The University of California Cadet Band, Captain Roy H. Blosser, chief musician.

May 7.—The Women's Guitar and Mandolin Club of the University of California, Mr. Richard J. Carpenter, director; assisted by the Women's Ukolele Club and Miss Edith Mote, soprano.

Performances By Non-University Organizations.

The Russian Symphony Orchestra.

On Thursday afternoon, May 4, and Saturday evening, May 6, the Russian Symphony Orchestra, Mr. Modest Altschuler, conductor, gave two concerts in the Greek Theatre. The following programmes were given:

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, MAY 4.

1. Symphonic Fragment: "Psyche" ..... *Ilyinski*
2. Symphony No. 6: "Pathetique" ..... *Tschaikowsky*
3. Fantasie: "The Cliff" ..... *Rachmaninoff*
4. "The Enchanted Lake" ..... *Liadow*
5. Aria: "Eugen Onegin" ..... *Tschaikowsky*

Mr. Bertram Schwahn.

6. Overture: "1812" ..... *Tschaikowsky*

SATURDAY EVENING, MAY 6.

Part 1. Russian.

1. Overture to the Opera: "Russlan and Ludmila" ..... *Glinka*
2. The Nutcracker Suite ..... *Tschaikowsky*
3. Vocal Quartette: "Night" ..... *Tschaikowsky*
4. Andante Cantabile (for strings) ..... *Tschaikowsky*
5. Marche Slav ..... *Tschaikowsky*

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Part 2. Wagner.

1. Die Meistersinger:
   (*a*) Prelude, Act I.
   (*b*) Prize Song: tenor solo, Mr. Frank Ormsby.
   (*c*) Quintette: Mmes. Dimitrieff and Hulse; Messrs. Ormsby Nicholson, and Schwahn.
2. Tristan und Isolde:
   (*a*) Prelude.
   (*b*) Liebestod: soprano solo, Mme. Nina Dimitrieff.
3. Götterdämmerung: Siegfried's Journey.
4. Siegfried: Waldweben.
5. Tannhäuser: Overture.

MME. SARA BERNHARDT IN "PHÈDRE."

On the afternoon of Monday, May 8, Mme. Sara Bernhardt made her second appearance in the Greek Theatre in Racine's "Phèdre." Mme. Bernhardt presented "Phèdre" in the Greek Theatre on May 17, 1906, and her second visit to the Greek Theatre was made the occasion of a special address of welcome and the presentation of a laurel wreath to the great actress. The party welcoming Mme. Bernhardt was composed of M. Henri Mérou, Consul-general of France in San Francisco; Professor Lucien Foulet, and for the Musical and Dramatic Committee, Professors Haskell, O'Neill, and Armes. Professor Foulet made the address of welcome, of which the following is a translation:

MADAM: Five years ago, almost to a day, the University of California and the friends of the University had, as they have to-day, gathered in this same place to see you and to hear you. Of those who watched that wondrous performance of "Phèdre"—and there are many of them present here—none has forgotten it, none will ever forget it. After an unprecedented catastrophe it was truly California breathing again at the sound of the divine and passionate music of a great poet. You appeared to us then as the radiant expression of Art that lives on through all disasters and consoles us after. Neither did this Greek Theatre, when you had left us, prove unfaithful to the noble tradition which you founded. In this matchless scenery great artists have since that day interpreted for us the masterpieces of the world's literature, until the Greek Theatre of the University of California has come to be known the world over for what it is, one of the truest wonders of this land. But if Shakespeare and Schiller (to name only the greatest) have been heard here, we cannot forget that the way was opened to them by Racine, as interpreted by the most rare and exquisite actress who ever interpreted a poet's work. For all this, Madam, the University of California is deeply grateful to you, and it is a heartfelt joy for us all to see you again here on this stage thus twice consecrated by your genius.

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Will you allow me in the name of the University of California to present you with this laurel wreath as a token of our admiration and of our gratitude.

SOTHERN AND MARLOWE IN "MACBETH."

On the evening of Monday, May 15, in the Greek Theatre, Mr. Edward H. Sothern and Miss Julia Marlowe with their company presented Shakespeare's "Macbeth," accompanied by Sir Arthur Sullivan's orchestration for this tragedy. The lavish expenditure for costumes, stage accessories, lighting effects, and attendants assisted in making this one of the most notable performances ever given in the Greek Theatre.

THE SUMMER SESSION.

The enrollment of students and auditors in the 1911 Summer Session reached a total of 1732 on June 28, as against 1,001 at a corresponding date last year. The total enrollment in 1910 was 1,052, and the figures for 1911 may be expected to reach 1,800 before the end of the session.

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA CHRONICLE

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THE GENTEEL TRADITION IN AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY*

GEORGE SANTAYANA

Ladies and Gentlemen: The privilege of addressing you to-day is very welcome to me, not merely for the honor of it, which is great, nor for the pleasures of travel, which are many, when it is California that one is visiting for the first time, but also because there is something I have long wanted to say which this occasion seems particularly favorable for saying. America is still a young country, and this part of it is especially so; and it would have been nothing extraordinary if, in this young country, material preoccupations had altogether absorbed people's minds, and they had been too much engrossed in living to reflect upon life, or to have any philosophy. The opposite, however, is the case. Not only have you already found time to philosophize in California, as your society proves, but the eastern colonists from the very beginning were a sophisticated race. As much as in clearing the land and fighting the Indians they were occupied, as they expressed it, in wrestling with the Lord. The country was new, but the race was tried, chastened, and full of solemn memories. It was an old wine in new bottles; and America did not have to wait for its present universities, with their departments of academic philosophy, in order to possess a living philosophy,—to have a distinct vision of the universe and definite convictions about human destiny.

* Address delivered before the Philosophical Union, Aug. 25, 1911.

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Now this situation is a singular and remarkable one, and has many consequences, not all of which are equally fortunate. America is a young country with an old mentality: it has enjoyed the advantages of a child carefully brought up, and thoroughly indoctrinated; it has been a wise child. But a wise child, an old head on young shoulders, always has a comic and an unpromising side. The wisdom is a little thin and verbal, not aware of its full meaning and grounds; and physical and emotional growth may be stunted by it, or even deranged. Or when the child is too vigorous for that, he will develop a fresh mentality of his own, out of his observations and actual instincts; and this fresh mentality will interfere with the traditional mentality, and tend to reduce it to something perfunctory, conventional, and perhaps secretly despised. A philosophy is not genuine unless it inspires and expresses the life of those who cherish it. I do not think the hereditary philosophy of America has done much to atrophy the natural activities of the inhabitants; the wise child has not missed the joys of youth or of manhood; but what has happened is that the hereditary philosophy has grown stale, and that the academic philosophy afterwards developed has caught the stale odor from it. America is not simply, as I said a moment ago, a young country with an old mentality: it is a country with two mentalities, one a survival of the beliefs and standards of the fathers, the other an expression of the instincts, practice, and discoveries of the younger generations. In all the higher things of the mind—in religion, in literature, in the moral emotions—it is the hereditary spirit that still prevails, so much so that Mr. Bernard Shaw finds that America is a hundred years behind the times. The truth is that that one-half of the American mind, that not occupied intensely in practical affairs, has remained, I will not say high-and-dry, but slightly becalmed; it has floated gently in the backwater, while, alongside, in invention and industry and social organization the other half of the mind was leap-

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ing down a sort of Niagara Rapids. This division may be found symbolized in American architecture: a neat reproduction of the colonial mansion—with some modern comforts introduced surreptitiously—stands beside the sky-scraper. The American Will inhabits the sky-scraper; the American Intellect inhabits the colonial mansion. The one is the sphere of the American man; the other, at least predominantly, of the American woman. The one is all aggressive enterprise; the other is all genteel tradition.

Now, with your permission, I should like to analyze more fully how this interesting situation has arisen, how it is qualified, and whither it tends. And in the first place we should remember what, precisely, that philosophy was which the first settlers brought with them into the country. In strictness there was more than one; but we may confine our attention to what I will call Calvinism, since it is on this that the current academic philosophy has been grafted. I do not mean exactly the Calvinism of Calvin, or even of Jonathan Edwards; for in their systems there was much that was not pure philosophy, but rather faith in the externals and history of revelation. Jewish and Christian revelation was interpreted by these men, however, in the spirit of a particular philosophy, which might have arisen under any sky, and been associated with any other religion as well as with Protestant Christianity. In fact, the philosophical principle of Calvinism appears also in the Koran, in Spinoza, and in Cardinal Newman; and persons with no very distinctive Christian belief, like Carlyle or like Professor Royce, may be nevertheless, philosophically, perfect Calvinists. Calvinism, taken in this sense, is an expression of the agonized conscience. It is a view of the world which an agonized conscience readily embraces, if it takes itself seriously, as, being agonized, of course it must. Calvinism, essentially, asserts three things: that sin exists, that sin is punished, and that it is beautiful that sin should exist to be punished. The heart of the Calvinist is therefore divided between tragic concern at his own mis-

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erable condition, and tragic exultation about the universe at large. He oscillates between a profound abasement and a paradoxical elation of the spirit. To be a Calvinist philosophically is to feel a fierce pleasure in the existence of misery, especially of one's own, in that this misery seems to manifest the fact that the Absolute is irresponsible or infinite or holy. Human nature, it feels, is totally depraved: to have the instincts and motives that we necessarily have is a great scandal, and we must suffer for it; but that scandal is requisite, since otherwise the serious importance of being as we ought to be would not have been vindicated.

To those of us who have not an agonized conscience this system may seem fantastic and even unintelligible; yet it is logically and intently thought out from its emotional premises. It can take permanent possession of a deep mind here and there, and under certain conditions it can become epidemic. Imagine, for instance, a small nation with an intense vitality, but on the verge of ruin, ecstatic and distressful, having a strict and minute code of laws, that paint life in sharp and violent chiaroscuro, all pure righteousness and black abominations, and exaggerating the consequences of both perhaps to infinity. Such a people were the Jews after the exile, and again the early Protestants. If such a people is philosophical at all, it will not improbably be Calvinistic. Even in the early American communities many of these conditions were fulfilled. The nation was small and isolated; it lived under pressure and constant trial; it was acquainted with but a small range of goods and evils. Vigilance over conduct and an absolute demand for personal integrity were not merely traditional things, but things that practical sages, like Franklin and Washington, recommended to their countrymen, because they were virtues that justified themselves visibly by their fruits. But soon these happy results themselves helped to relax the pressure of external circumstances, and indirectly the pressure of the agonized con-

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science within. The nation became numerous; it ceased to be either ecstatic or distressful; the high social morality which on the whole it preserved took another color; people remained honest and helpful out of good sense and good will rather than out of scrupulous adherence to any fixed principles. They retained their instinct for order, and often created order with surprising quickness; but the sanctity of law, to be obeyed for its own sake, began to escape them; it seemed too unpractical a notion, and not quite serious. In fact, the second and native-born American mentality began to take shape. The sense of sin totally evaporated. Nature, in the words of Emerson, was all beauty and commodity; and while operating on it laboriously, and drawing quick returns, the American began to drink in inspiration from it aesthetically. At the same time, in so broad a continent, he had elbow-room. His neighbors helped more than they hindered him; he wished their number to increase. Good-will became the great American virtue; and a passion arose for counting heads, and square miles, and cubic feet, and minutes saved—as if there had been anything to save them for. How strange to the American now that saying of Jonathan Edwards, that men are naturally God's enemies! Yet that is an axiom to any intelligent Calvinist, though the words he uses may be different. If you told the modern American that he is totally depraved, he would think you were joking, as he himself usually is. He is convinced that he always has been, and always will be, victorious and blameless.

Calvinism thus lost its basis in American life. Some emotional natures, indeed, reverted in their religious revivals or private searchings of heart to the sources of the tradition; for any of the radical points of view in philosophy may cease to be prevalent, but none can cease to be possible. Other natures, more sensitive to the moral and literary influences of the world, preferred to abandon parts of their philosophy, hoping thus to reduce the distance which should separate the remainder from real life.

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Meantime, if anybody arose with a special sensibility or a technical genius, he was in great straits; not being fed sufficiently by the world, he was driven in upon his own resources. The three American writers whose personal endowment was perhaps the finest—Poe, Hawthorne, and Emerson—had all a certain starved and abstract quality. They could not retail the genteel tradition; they were too keen, too perceptive, and too independent for that. But life offered them little digestible material, nor were they naturally voracious. They were fastidious, and under the circumstances they were starved. Emerson, to be sure, fed on books. There was a great catholicity in his reading; and he showed a fine tact in his comments, and in his way of appropriating what he read. But he read transcendentally, not historically, to learn what he himself felt, not what others might have felt before him. And to feed on books, for a philosopher or a poet, is still to starve. Books can help him to acquire form, or to avoid pitfalls; they cannot supply him with substance, if he is to have any. Therefore the genius of Poe and Hawthorne, and even of Emerson, was employed on a sort of inner play, or digestion of vacancy. It was a refined labor, but it was in danger of being morbid, or tinkling, or self-indulgent. It was a play of intra-mental rhymes. Their mind was like an old music-box, full of tender echoes and quaint fancies. These fancies expressed their personal genius sincerely, as dreams may; but they were arbitrary fancies in comparison with what a real observer would have said in the premises. Their manner, in a word, was subjective. In their own persons they escaped the mediocrity of the genteel tradition, but they supplied nothing to supplant it in other minds.

The churches, likewise, although they modified their spirit, had no philosophy to offer save a selection or a new emphasis on parts of what Calvinism contained. The theology of Calvin, we must remember, had much in it besides philosophical Calvinism. A Christian tenderness, and

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a hope of grace for the individual, came to mitigate its sardonic optimism; and it was these evangelical elements that the Calvinistic churches now emphasized, seldom and with blushes referring to hell-fire or infant damnation. Yet philosophic Calvinism, with a theory of life that would perfectly justify hell-fire and infant damnation if they happened to exist, still dominates the traditional metaphysics. It is an ingredient, and the decisive ingredient, in what calls itself idealism. But in order to see just what part Calvinism plays in current idealism, it will be necessary to distinguish the other chief element in that complex system, namely, transcendentalism.

Transcendentalism is the philosophy which the romantic era produced in Germany, and independently, I believe, in America also. Transcendentalism proper, like romanticism, is not any particular set of dogmas about what things exist; it is not a system of the universe regarded as a fact, or as a collection of facts. It is a method, a point of view, from which any world, no matter what it might contain, could be approached by a self-conscious observer. Transcendentalism is systematic subjectivism. It studies the perspectives of knowledge, as they radiate from the self; it is a plan of those avenues of inference by which our ideas of things must be reached, if they are to afford any systematic or distant vistas. In other words, transcendentalism is the critical logic of science. Knowledge, it says, has a station, as in a watch-tower; it is always seated here and now, in the self of the moment. The past and the future, things inferred and things conceived, lie around it, painted as upon a panorama. They cannot be lighted up save by some centrifugal ray of attention and present interest, by some active operation of the mind.

This is hardly the occasion for developing or explaining this delicate insight; suffice it to say, lest you should think later that I disparage transcendentalism, that as a method I regard it as correct and, when once suggested, unforgetable. I regard it as the chief contribution made in modern

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times to speculation. But it is a method only, an attitude we may always assume if we like and that will always be legitimate. It is no answer, and involves no particular answer, to the question: What exists; in what order is what exists produced; what is to exist in the future? This question must be answered by observing the object, and tracing humbly the movement of the object. It cannot be answered at all by harping on the fact that this object, if discovered, must be discovered by somebody, and by somebody who has an interest in discovering it. Yet the Germans who first gained the full transcendental insight were romantic people; they were more or less frankly poets; they were colossal egotists, and wished to make not only their own knowledge but the whole universe center about themselves. And full as they were of their romantic isolation and romantic liberty, it occurred to them to imagine that all reality might be a transcendental self and a romantic dreamer like themselves; nay, that it might be just their own transcendental self and their own romantic dreams extended indefinitely. Transcendental logic, the method of discovery for the mind, was to become also the method of evolution in nature and history. Transcendental method, so abused, produced transcendental myth. A conscientious critique of knowledge was turned into a sham system of nature. We must therefore distinguish sharply the transcendental grammar of the intellect, which is significant and potentially correct, from the various transcendental systems of the universe, which are chimeras.

In both its parts, however, transcendentalism had much to recommend it to American philosophers, for the transcendental method appealed to the individualistic and revolutionary temper of their youth, while transcendental myths enabled them to find a new status for their inherited theology, and to give what parts of it they cared to preserve some semblance of philosophical backing. This last was the use to which the transcendental method was put by Kant himself, who first brought it into vogue, before the

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terrible weapon had got out of hand, and become the instrument of pure romanticism. Kant came, he himself said, to remove knowledge in order to make room for faith, which in his case meant faith in Calvinism. In other words, he applied the transcendental method to matters of fact, reducing them thereby to human ideas, in order to give to the Calvinistic postulates of conscience a metaphysical validity. For Kant had a genteel tradition of his own, which he wished to remove to a place of safety, feeling that the empirical world had become too hot for it; and this place of safety was the region of transcendental myth. I need hardly say how perfectly this expedient suited the needs of philosophers in America, and it is no accident if the influence of Kant soon became dominant here. To embrace this philosophy was regarded as a sign of profound metaphysical insight, although the most mediocre minds found no difficulty in embracing it. In truth it was a sign of having been brought up in the genteel tradition, of feeling it weak, and of wishing to save it.

But the transcendental method, in its way, was also sympathetic to the American mind. It embodied, in a radical form, the spirit of Protestantism as distinguished from its inherited doctrines; it was autonomous, undismayed, calmly revolutionary; it felt that Will was deeper than Intellect; it focused everything here and now, and asked all things to show their credentials at the bar of the young self, and to prove their value for this latest born moment. These things are truly American; they would be characteristic of any young society with a keen and discursive intelligence, and they are strikingly exemplified in the thought and in the person of Emerson. They constitute what he called self-trust. Self-trust, like other transcendental attitudes, may be expressed in metaphysical fables. The romantic spirit may imagine itself to be an absolute force, evoking and molding the plastic world to express its varying moods. But for a pioneer who is actually a world-builder this metaphysical illusion has a partial

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warrant in historical fact; far more warrant than it could boast of in the fixed and articulated society of Europe, among the moonstruck rebels and sulking poets of the romantic era. Emerson was a shrewd Yankee, by instinct on the winning side; he was a cheery, child-like soul, impervious to the evidence of evil, as of everything that it did not suit his transcendental individuality to appreciate or to notice. More, perhaps, than anybody that has ever lived, he practiced the transcendental method in all its purity. He had no system. He opened his eyes on the world every morning with a fresh sincerity, marking how things seemed to him then, or what they suggested to his spontaneous fancy. This fancy, for being spontaneous, was not always novel; it was guided by the habits and training of his mind, which were those of a preacher. Yet he never insisted on his notions so as to turn them into settled dogmas; he felt in his bones that they were myths. Sometimes, indeed, the bad example of other transcendentalists, less true than he to their method, or the pressing questions of unintelligent people, or the instinct we all have to think our ideas final, led him to the very verge of system-making; but he stopped short. Had he made a system out of his notion of compensation, or the over-soul, or spiritual laws, the result would have been as thin and forced as it is in other transcendental systems. But he coveted truth; and he returned to experience, to history, to poetry, to the natural science of his day, for new starting-points and hints toward fresh transcendental musings.

To covet truth is a very distinguished passion. Every philosopher says he is pursuing the truth, but this is seldom the case. As Mr. Bertrand Russell has observed, one reason why philosophers often fail to reach the truth is that often they do not desire to reach it. Those who are genuinely concerned in discovering what happens to be true are rather the men of science, the naturalists, the historians; and ordinarily they discover it, according to their lights. The truths they find are never complete, and are not always

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important; but they are integral parts of the truth, facts and circumstances that help to fill in the picture, and that no later interpretation can invalidate or afford to contradict. But professional philosophers are usually only scholastics: that is, they are absorbed in defending some vested illusion or some eloquent idea. Like lawyers or detectives, they study the case for which they are retained, to see how much evidence or semblance of evidence they can gather for the defense, and how much prejudice they can raise against the witnesses for the prosecution; for they know they are defending prisoners suspected by the world, and perhaps by their own good sense, of falsification. They do not covet truth, but victory and the dispelling of their own doubts. What they defend is some system, that is, some view about the totality of things, of which men are actually ignorant. No system would ever have been framed if people had been simply interested in knowing what is true, whatever it may be. What produces systems is the interest in maintaining against all comers that some favorite or inherited idea of ours is sufficient and right. A system may contain an account of many things which, in detail, are true enough; but as a system, covering infinite possibilities that neither our experience nor our logic can prejudge, it must be a work of imagination, and a piece of human soliloquy. It may be expressive of human experience, it may be poetical; but how should any one who really coveted truth suppose that it was true?

Emerson had no system; and his coveting truth had another exceptional consequence: he was detached, unworldly, contemplative. When he came out of the conventicle or the reform meeting, or out of the rapturous close atmosphere of the lecture-room, he heard nature whispering to him: "Why so hot, little sir?" No doubt the spirit or energy of the world is what is acting in us, as the sea is what rises in every little wave; but it passes through us, and cry out as we may, it will move on. Our privilege is to have perceived it as it moves. Our dignity is not in

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what we do, but in what we understand. The whole world is doing things. We are turning in that vortex; yet within us is silent observation, the speculative eye before which all passes, which bridges the distances and compares the combatants. On this side of his genius Emerson broke away from all conditions of age or country and represented nothing except intelligence itself.

There was another element in Emerson, curiously combined with transcendentalism, namely, his love and respect for Nature. Nature, for the transcendentalist, is precious because it is his own work, a mirror in which he looks at himself and says (like a poet relishing his own verses), "What a genius I am! Who would have thought there was such stuff in me?" And the philosophical egotist finds in his doctrine a ready explanation of whatever beauty and commodity nature actually has. No wonder, he says to himself, that nature is sympathetic, since I made it. And such a view, one-sided and even fatuous as it may be, undoubtedly sharpens the vision of a poet and a moralist to all that is inspiriting and symbolic in the natural world. Emerson was particularly ingenious and clear-sighted in feeling the spiritual uses of fellowship with the elements. This is something in which all Teutonic poetry is rich and which forms, I think, the most genuine and spontaneous part of modern taste, and especially of American taste. Just as some people are naturally enthralled and refreshed by music, so others are by landscape. Music and landscape make up the spiritual resources of those who cannot or dare not express their unfulfilled ideals in words. Serious poetry, profound religion (Calvinism, for instance) are the joys of an unhappiness that confesses itself; but when a genteel tradition forbids people to confess that they are unhappy, serious poetry and profound religion are closed to them by that; and since human life, in its depths, cannot then express itself openly, imagination is driven for comfort into abstract arts, where human circumstances are lost sight of, and human problems dissolve in a purer

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medium. The pressure of care is thus relieved, without its quietus being found in intelligence. To understand oneself is the classic form of consolation; to elude oneself is the romantic. In the presence of music or landscape human experience eludes itself; and thus romanticism is the bond between transcendental and naturalistic sentiment.

Have there been, we may ask, any successful efforts to escape from the genteel tradition, and to express something worth expressing behind its back? This might well not have occurred as yet; but America is so precocious, it has been trained by the genteel tradition to be so wise for its years, that some indications of a truly native philosophy and poetry are already to be found. I might mention the humorists, of whom you here in California have had your share. The humorists, however, only half escape the genteel tradition; their humor would lose its savor if they had wholly escaped it. They point to what contradicts it in the facts; but not in order to abandon the genteel tradition, for they have nothing solid to put in its place. When they point out how ill many facts fit into it, they do not clearly conceive that this militates against the standard, but think it a funny perversity in the facts. Of course, did they earnestly respect the genteel tradition, such an incongruity would seem to them sad, rather than ludicrous. Perhaps the prevalence of humor in America, in and out of season, may be taken as one more evidence that the genteel tradition is present pervasively, but everywhere weak. Similarly in Italy, during the Renaissance, the Catholic tradition could not be banished from the intellect, since there was nothing articulate to take its place; yet its hold on the heart was singularly relaxed. The consequence was that humorists could regale themselves with the foibles of monks and of cardinals, with the credulity of fools, and the bogus miracles of the saints; not intending to deny the theory of the church, but caring for it so little at heart, that they could find it infinitely amusing that it

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should be contradicted in men's lives, and that no harm should come of it. So when Mark Twain says, "I was born of poor but dishonest parents," the humor depends on the parody of the genteel Anglo-Saxon convention that it is disreputable to be poor; but to hint at the hollowness of it would not be amusing if it did not remain at bottom one's habitual conviction.

The one American writer who has left the genteel tradition entirely behind is perhaps Walt Whitman. For this reason educated Americans find him rather an unpalatable person, who they sincerely protest ought not to be taken for a representative of their culture; and he certainly should not, because their culture is so genteel and traditional. But the foreigner may sometimes think otherwise, since he is looking for what may have arisen in America to express, not the polite and conventional American mind, but the spirit and the inarticulate principles that animate the community, on which its own genteel mentality seems to sit rather lightly. When the foreigner opens the pages of Walt Whitman, he thinks that he has come at last upon something representative and original. In Walt Whitman democracy is carried into psychology and morals. The various sights, moods, and emotions are given each one vote; they are declared to be all free and equal, and the innumerable common-place moments of life are suffered to speak like the others. Those moments formerly reputed great are not excluded, but they are made to march in the ranks with their companions,—plain foot-soldiers and servants of the hour. Nor does the refusal to discriminate stop there; we must carry our principle further down, to the animals, to inanimate nature, to the cosmos as a whole. Whitman became a pantheist; but his pantheism, unlike that of the Stoics and of Spinoza, was unintellectual, lazy, and self-indulgent; for he simply felt jovially that everything real was good enough, and that he was good enough himself. In him Bohemia rebelled against the genteel tradition; but the reconstruction that

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alone can justify revolution did not ensue. His attitude, in principle, was utterly disintegrating; his poetic genius fell back to the lowest level, perhaps, to which it is possible for poetic genius to fall. He reduced his imagination to a passive sensorium for the registering of impressions. No element of construction remained in it, and therefore no element of penetration. But his scope was wide; and his lazy, desultory apprehension was poetical. His work, for the very reason that it is so rudimentary, contains a beginning, or rather many beginnings, that might possibly grow into a noble moral imagination, a worthy filling for the human mind. An American in the nineteenth century who completely disregarded the genteel tradition could hardly have done more.

But there is another distinguished man, lately lost to this country, who has given some rude shocks to this tradition and who, as much as Whitman, may be regarded as representing the genuine, the long silent American mind—I mean William James. He and his brother Henry were as tightly swaddled in the genteel tradition as any infant geniuses could be, for they were born in Cambridge, and in a Swedenborgian household. Yet they burst those bands almost entirely. The ways in which the two brothers freed themselves, however, are interestingly different. Mr. Henry James has done it by adopting the point of view of the outer world, and by turning the genteel American tradition, as he turns everything else, into a subject-matter for analysis. For him it is a curious habit of mind, intimately comprehended, to be compared with other habits of mind, also well known to him. Thus he has overcome the genteel tradition in the classic way, by understanding it. With William James too this infusion of worldly insight and European sympathies was a potent influence, especially in his earlier days; but the chief source of his liberty was another. It was his personal spontaneity, similar to that of Emerson, and his personal vitality, similar to that of nobody else. Convictions and ideas came to him, so to

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speak, from the subsoil. He had a prophetic sympathy with the dawning sentiments of the age, with the moods of the dumb majority. His scattered words caught fire in many parts of the world. His way of thinking and feeling represented the true America, and represented in a measure the whole ultra-modern, radical world. Thus he eluded the genteel tradition in the romantic way, by continuing it into its opposite. The romantic mind, glorified in Hegel's dialectic (which is not dialectic at all, but a sort of tragi-comic history of experience), is always rendering its thoughts unrecognizable through the infusion of new insights, and through the insensible transformation of the moral feeling that accompanies them, till at last it has completely reversed its old judgments under cover of expanding them. Thus the genteel tradition was led a merry dance when it fell again into the hands of a genuine and vigorous romanticist, like William James. He restored their revolutionary force to its neutralized elements, by picking them out afresh, and emphasizing them separately, according to his personal predilections.

For one thing, William James kept his mind and heart wide open to all that might seem, to polite minds, odd, personal, or visionary in religion and philosophy. He gave a sincerely respectful hearing to sentimentalists, mystics, spiritualists, wizards, cranks, quacks, and impostors—for it is hard to draw the line, and James was not willing to draw it prematurely. He thought, with his usual modesty, that any of these might have something to teach him. The lame, the halt, the blind, and those speaking with tongues could come to him with the certainty of finding sympathy; and if they were not healed, at least they were comforted, that a famous professor should take them so seriously; and they began to feel that after all to have only one leg, or one hand, or one eye, or to have three, might be in itself no less beauteous than to have just two, like the stolid majority. Thus William James became the friend and helper of those groping, nervous, half-educated, spiritually

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disinherited, emotionally hungry individuals of which America is full. He became, at the same time, their spokesman and representative before the learned world; and he made it a chief part of his vocation to recast what the learned world has to offer, so that as far as possible it might serve the needs and interests of these people.

Yet the normal practical masculine American, too, had a friend in William James. There is a feeling abroad now, to which biology and Darwinism lend some color, that theory is simply an instrument for practice, and intelligence merely a help toward material survival. Bears, it is said, have fur and claws, but poor naked man is condemned to be intelligent, or he will perish. This feeling William James embodied in that theory of thought and of truth which he called pragmatism. Intelligence, he thought, is no miraculous, idle faculty, by which we mirror passively any or every thing that happens to be true, reduplicating the real world to no purpose. Intelligence has its roots and its issue in the context of events; it is one kind of practical adjustment, an experimental act, a form of vital tension. It does not essentially serve to picture other parts of reality, but to connect them. This view was not worked out by William James in its psychological and historical details; unfortunately he developed it chiefly in controversy against its opposite, which he called intellectualism, and which he hated with all the hatred of which his kind heart was capable. Intellectualism, as he conceived it, was pure pedantry; it impoverished and verbalized everything, and tied up nature in red tape. Ideas and rules that may have been occasionally useful, it put in the place of the full-blooded irrational movement of life which had called them into being; and these abstractions, so soon obsolete, it strove to fix and to worship forever. Thus all creeds and theories and all formal precepts sink in the estimation of the pragmatist to a local and temporary grammar of action; a grammar that must be changed slowly by time, and may be changed quickly by genius. To know things as a whole,

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or as they are eternally, if there is anything eternal in them, is not only beyond our powers, but would prove worthless, and perhaps even fatal to our lives. Ideas are not mirrors, they are weapons; their function is to prepare us to meet events, as future experience may unroll them. Those ideas that disappoint us are false ideas; those to which events are true are true themselves.

This may seem a very utilitarian view of the mind; and I confess I think it a partial one, since the logical force of beliefs and ideas, their truth or falsehood as assertions, has been overlooked altogether, or confused with the vital force of the material processes which these ideas express. It is an external view only, which marks the place and conditions of the mind in nature, but neglects its specific essence; as if a jewel were defined as a round hole in a ring. Nevertheless, the more materialistically we interpret the pragmatist theory of what the mind is, the more vitalistic our theory of nature will have to become. If the intellect is a device produced in organic bodies to expedite their processes, these organic bodies must have interests and a chosen direction in their life; otherwise their life could not be expedited, nor could anything be useful to it. In other words—and this is a third point at which the philosophy of William James has played havoc with the genteel tradition, while ostensibly defending it—nature must be conceived anthropomorphically and in psychological terms. Its purposes are not to be static harmonies, self-unfolding destinies, the logic of spirit, the spirit of logic, or any other formal method and abstract law; its purposes are to be concrete endeavors, finite efforts of souls living in an environment which they transform and by which they, too, are affected. A spirit, the divine spirit as much as the human, as this new animism conceives it, is a romantic adventurer. Its future is undetermined. Its scope, its duration, and the quality of its life, are all contingent. This spirit grows; it buds and sends forth feelers, sounding the depths around for such other centers

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of force or life as may exist there. It has a vital momentum, but no predetermined goal. It uses its past as a stepping-stone, or rather as a diving-board, but has an absolutely fresh will at each moment to plunge this way or that into the unknown. The universe is an experiment; it is unfinished. It has no ultimate or total nature, because it has no end. It embodies no formula or statable law; any formula is at best a poor abstraction, describing what, in some region and for some time, may be the most striking characteristic of existence; the law is a description *a posteriori* of the habit things have chosen to acquire, and which they may possibly throw off altogether. What a day may bring forth is uncertain; uncertain even to God. Omniscience is impossible; time is real; what had been omniscience hitherto might discover something more to-day. "There shall be news," William James was fond of saying with rapture, quoting from the unpublished poem of an obscure friend, "there shall be news in heaven!" There is almost certainly, he thought, a God now; there may be several gods, who might exist together, or one after the other. We might, by our conspiring sympathies, help to make a new one. Much in us is doubtless immortal; we survive death for some time in a recognizable form; but what our career and transformations may be in the sequel, we cannot tell, although we may help to determine them by our daily choices. Observation must be continual, if our ideas are to remain true. Eternal vigilance is the price of knowledge; perpetual hazard, perpetual experiment keep quick the edge of life.

This is, so far as I know, a new philosophical vista; it is a conception never before presented, although implied, perhaps, in various quarters, as in Norse and even Greek mythology. It is a vision radically empirical and radically romantic; and as William James himself used to say, the vision and not the arguments of a philosopher is the interesting and influential thing about him. William James,

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rather too generously, attributed this vision to M. Bergson, and regarded him in consequence as a philosopher of the first rank, whose thought was to be one of the turning-points in history. M. Bergson had killed intellectualism. It was his book on creative evolution, said James with humorous emphasis, that had come at last to "*écraser l'infâme.*" We may suspect, notwithstanding, that intellectualism, infamous and crushed, will survive the blow; and if the author of the Book of Ecclesiastes were now alive, and heard that there shall be news in heaven, he would doubtless say that there may possibly be news there, but that under the sun there is nothing new—not even radical empiricism or radical romanticism, which from the beginning of the world has been the philosophy of those who as yet had had little experience; for to the blinking little child it is not merely something in the world that is new daily, but everything is new all day.

I am not concerned with the rights and wrongs of that controversy; my point is only that William James, in this genial evolutionary view of the world, has given a rude shock to the genteel tradition. What! The world a gradual improvization? Creation unpremeditated? God a sort of young poet or struggling artist? William James is an advocate of theism; pragmatism adds one to the evidences of religion; that is excellent. But is not the cool abstract piety of the genteel getting more than it asks for? This empirical naturalistic God is too crude and positive a force; he will work miracles, he will answer prayers, he may inhabit distinct places, and have distinct conditions under which alone he can operate; he is a neighboring being, whom we can act upon, and rely upon for specific aids, as upon a personal friend, or a physician, or an insurance company. How disconcerting! Is not this new theology a little like superstition? And yet how interesting, how exciting, if it should happen to be true! I am far from wishing to suggest that such a view seems to me more probable than conventional idealism or than Christian

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orthodoxy. All three are in the region of dramatic system-making and myth, to which probabilities are irrelevant. If one man says the moon is sister to the sun, and another that she is his daughter, the question is not which notion is more probable, but whether either of them is at all expressive. The so-called evidences are devised afterwards, when faith and imagination have prejudged the issue. The force of William James's new theology, or romantic cosmology, lies only in this: that it has broken the spell of the genteel tradition, and enticed faith in a new direction, which on second thoughts may prove no less alluring than the old. The important fact is not that the new fancy might possibly be true—who shall know that?—but that it has entered the heart of a leading American to conceive and to cherish it. The genteel tradition cannot be dislodged by these insurrections; there are circles to which it is still congenial, and where it will be preserved. But it has been challenged and (what is perhaps more insidious) it has been discovered. No one need be brow-beaten any longer into accepting it. No one need be afraid, for instance, that his fate is sealed because some young prig may call him a dualist; the pint would call the quart a dualist, if you tried to pour the quart into him. We need not be afraid of being less profound, for being direct and sincere. The intellectual world may be traversed in many directions; the whole has not been surveyed; there is a great career in it open to talent. That is a sort of knell, that tolls the passing of the genteel tradition. Something else is now in the field; something else can appeal to the imagination, and be a thousand times more idealistic than academic idealism, which is often simply a way of whitewashing and adoring things as they are. The illegitimate monopoly which the genteel tradition had established over what ought to be assumed and what ought to be hoped for has been broken down by the first-born of the family, by the genius of the race. Henceforth there can hardly be the same peace and the same pleasure in hugging the old

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proprieties. Hegel will be to the next generation what Sir William Hamilton was to the last. Nothing will have been disproved, but everything will have been abandoned. An honest man has spoken, and the cant of the genteel tradition has become harder for young lips to repeat.

With this I have finished such a sketch as I am here able to offer you of the genteel tradition in American philosophy. The subject is complex, and calls for many an excursus and qualifying footnote; yet I think the main outlines are clear enough. The chief fountains of this tradition were Calvinism and transcendentalism. Both were living fountains; but to keep them alive they required, one an agonized conscience, and the other a radical subjective criticism of knowledge. When these rare metaphysical preoccupations disappeared—and the American atmosphere is not favorable to either of them—the two systems ceased to be inwardly understood; they subsisted as sacred mysteries only; and the combination of the two in some transcendental system of the universe (a contradition in principle) was doubly artificial. Besides, it could hardly be held with a single mind. Natural science, history, the beliefs implied in labor and invention, could not be disregarded altogether; so that the transcendental philosopher was condemned to a double allegiance, and to not letting his left hand know the bluff that his right hand was putting up. Nevertheless, the difficulty in bringing practical inarticulate convictions to expression is very great, and the genteel tradition has subsisted in the academic mind, for want of anything equally academic to take its place.

The academic mind, however, has had its flanks turned. On the one side came the revolt of the Bohemian temperament, with its poetry of crude naturalism; on the other side came an impassioned empiricism, welcoming popular religious witnesses to the unseen, reducing science to an instrument of success in action, and declaring the universe to be wild and young, and not to be harnessed by the logic of any school.

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This revolution, I should think, might well find an echo among you, who live in a thriving society, and in the presence of a virgin and prodigious world. When you transform nature to your uses, when you experiment with her forces, and reduce them to industrial agents, you cannot feel that nature was made by you or for you, for then these adjustments would have been preëestablished. You must feel, rather, that you are an offshoot of her life; one brave little force among her immense forces. When you escape, as you love to do, to your forests and your Sierras, I am sure again that you do not feel you made them, or that they were made for you. They have grown, as you have grown, only more massively and more slowly. In their non-human beauty and peace they stir the sub-human depths and the superhuman possibilities of your own spirit. It is no transcendental logic that they teach; and they give no sign of any deliberate morality seated in the world. It is rather the vanity and superficiality of all logic, the needlessness of argument, the finitude of morals, the strength of time, the fertility of matter, the variety, the unspeakable variety, of possible life. Everything is measurable and conditioned, indefinitely repeated, yet, in repetition, twisted somewhat from its old form. Everywhere is beauty and nowhere permanence, everywhere an incipient harmony, nowhere an intention, nor a responsibility, nor a plan. It is the irresistible suasion of this daily spectacle, it is the daily discipline of contact with things, so different from the verbal discipline of the schools, that will, I trust, inspire the philosophy of your children. A Californian whom I had recently the pleasure of meeting observed that, if the philosophers had lived among your mountains their systems would have been different from what they are. Certainly, I should say, very different from what those systems are from which the European genteel tradition has handed down since Socrates; for these systems are egotistical; directly or indirectly they are anthropocentric, and inspired by the conceited notion that man, or human reason, or the

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human distinction between good and evil, is the center and pivot of the universe. That is what the mountains and the woods should make you at last ashamed to assert. From what, indeed, does the society of nature liberate you, that you find it so sweet? It is hardly (is it?) that you wish to forget your past, or your friends, or that you have any secret contempt for your present ambitions. You respect these, you respect them perhaps too much; you are not suffered by the genteel tradition to criticize or to reform them at all radically. No; it is the yoke of this genteel tradition itself, your tyrant from the cradle to the grave, that these primeval solitudes lift from your shoulders. They suspend your forced sense of your own importance not merely as individuals, but even as men. They allow you, in one happy moment, at once to play and to worship, to take yourselves simply, humbly, for what you are, and to salute the wild, indifferent, non-censorious infinity of nature. You are admonished that what you can do avails little materially, and in the end nothing. At the same time, through wonder and pleasure, you are taught speculation. You learn what you are really fitted to do, and where lie your natural dignity and joy, namely, in representing many things, without being them, and in letting your imagination, through sympathy, celebrate and echo their life. Because the peculiarity of man is that his machinery for reaction on external things has involved an imaginative transcript of these things, which is preserved and suspended in his fancy; and the interest and beauty of this inward landscape, rather than any fortunes that may await his body in the outer world, constitute his proper happiness. By their mind, its scope, quality, and temper, we estimate men, for by the mind only do we exist as men, and are more than so many storage-batteries for material energy. Let us therefore be frankly human. Let us be content to live in the mind.

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SHIP SUBSIDY*

On March 31, 1891, Congress passed an act providing for "Ocean mail service between the United States and foreign ports and to promote commerce."

The Postmaster General was empowered to enter into contracts with American citizens for the use of American built steamers, which were to be classified as follows:

1. Those of 8000 tons minimum and speed of 20 knots.
2. Those of 5000 tons minimum and speed of 16 knots.
3. Those of 2500 tons minimum and speed of 14 knots.
4. Those of 1,500 tons minimum and speed of 12 knots.

The compensation for the first and second classes was fixed at $4 and $2 per mile, respectively, for each outward voyage and by the shortest practicable route. That for the third and fourth classes was set at $1 and 66⅔ cents per mile, respectively, on each outward voyage and for the actual number of miles required by the postoffice department to be traveled.

There were provisions that the design and construction of such mail contract ships should meet the governmental approval, with the view to their use as auxiliaries in time of war; that they should be officered and, to a certain extent, manned by American citizens; and that a certain number of American boys should be carried as apprentices.

Under this act, the postoffice department entered into five contracts, viz.:

* Lecture delivered before the Berkeley Club, March, 1911.

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1st class, New York to Southampton	4 vessels
2nd class, New York to Havana	6 vessels
3rd class, New York to Venezuela	4 vessels
4th class, Boston and Philadelphia to Jamaica	3 vessels
5th class, San Francisco to Tahiti	1 vessel
Total	18 vessels

This brief and general statement will serve to show the character and scope of the legislation that created the existing system of mail subvention or ship subsidy, and also to point out that the system has been in operation for twenty years and that the later and periodical agitations in Congress have not been in the direction of instituting a new plan for the relief of American shipping, but of modifying and extending the provisions of the act of 1891.

During the Sixtieth Congress of 1908-09, an amendment was introduced to provide for the doubling of the compensation to vessels of the second class on routes of four thousand miles or more, to the Philippines, South America, Japan, China, and Australia, and for a similar increase to vessels of the fourth class, but with the stipulation that the amount to be paid should not exceed the estimated annual revenue from the foreign mail service.

While all amendments proposed since the enactment of the original legislation have failed of passage, the keen and prolonged discussion during the session of the Sixtieth Congress was distinctly instructive, because every useful fact and argument was marshaled to do duty in support or in condemnation of the measure and of the principle involved in it.

Based on the available information, have we such an understanding of this important subject as will lead us to a fixed opinion, or are we governed by a kind of patriotic sympathy over the decadence of a once prosperous, national industry; and will the measures proposed bring the results promised by their advocates and restore the lost prestige of our shipping?

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These questions lead to an examination of the Congressional debate, and, in passing, it may be said that the House of Representatives permits the printing of speeches that have not been delivered, but the traditions and the practice of the Senate are different. In this examination of a vast amount of printed matter, one discards much that is irrelevant, misleading, and worthless. This process leaves a relatively small residuum deserving of study, which was contributed by a comparatively few men who displayed knowledge and preparation for the discussion of so important a topic.

At the outset, it was contended that the beneficial results which would logically follow the proposed increase in mail subsidies would be without cost to the nation. Support for this was had from the second assistant postmaster general, whose testimony before the Congressional committee was, in part, as follows: "But we find that the United States has another function to perform, that is, the carrying of the mails. We find that we have an income from the carrying of the mails of more than $6,500,000 per year. Now, the United States does not run its postoffice for profit. The $6,500,000 can be divided into two parts, the $2,900,000 which represents the cost of the service, and the $3,600,000 which represents the profit. If the United States is satisfied not to have a profit in carrying the mails, and nobody ever dreamed of its carrying the mails for that purpose, and is satisfied to have its mails carried by its own citizens instead of by foreigners, it has right here its own postal income, without asking a penny more from the people in the way of postage or in any way whatever, the very money that is necessary to accomplish this very purpose at a minimum of cost."

Unfortunately for this argument, as well as for the nation, the debate disclosed the fact that the foreign mail service was not charged, and under the system of accounting could not be charged, with the cost of collecting, transporting, and distributing the foreign mail matter on land,

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because of the impossibility of accurately segregating the cost from the general operating expenses of the postoffice department; and further, that, if this foreign mail service were debited with its rateable proportion of the handling and administration expense, this apparent profit would disappear. Therefore, this proclaimed profit of $3,600,000 was fictitious and unreal.

It was recognized that the postoffice department is notoriously unprofitable; the deficit for 1909 was reported to be $17,000,000. If the apparent profit of $3,600,000 had been diverted from the national income and had been paid in additional subventions to mail steamers, clearly it would have increased the loss to $20,000,000; and this augmented deficit would have been met out of the United States Treasury, and with money raised through the taxation of the people of the country.

This exposure completely met and answered the argument, which was based on a distortion of the facts.

Again, it was held that American mail steamships are entitled to the same favorable consideration that is bestowed upon mail carrying railroads and the publishers of second-class mail matter; the allegation being that the railroads were overpaid at the rate of 9 cents per pound, and the publishers were undercharged at the rate of 1 cent per pound for the service, with the officially confessed resultant loss to the government of $63,000,000.

With full knowledge of this deficit, no administration, until the present one, has had the courage to attack either or both factors in the problem and so adjust the manifest inequality that the ratio of charge to cost shall be made less than one to nine.

But it does not follow that if the government is pursuing what has come to be regarded as a questionable policy respecting railroads and magazine publishers, it is justified also in permitting the treasury to be tapped in the interest of a few shipowners.

And so the arguments in favor of a subsidy increase

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ran the well known gamut: our lack of auxiliary vessels for the army and navy in time of war; the danger of sending our official dispatches in foreign vessels; our inability to secure our proper share of the trade with foreign nations; and the fact that we are spending millions on the Panama Canal for the benefit of competing nations and not for that of our own merchant marine, with does not, but which should, exist.

The laudable purpose of the original legislation was to offer an inducement to American capital to reënter the field of international competition on the ocean; to restore the lost prestige of our flag; to enjoy the profit accruing from the transport of our immense volume of imports and exports; to extend the markets for our products, and to create a supply of ships and sailors that would be immediately available in time of need.

These were the beneficial objects that were sought; and the speeches of the subvention proponents in 1891, and the discussion of every amendment since offered, rang with confident predictions that these results would logically and automatically follow such governmental assistance.

The value of the act of 1891 may properly, and only, be gauged by its results.

Since that date, there have been built for our foreign service:

23,258 tons for Liverpool lines.
8,574 tons for tropical fruit lines.
3,484 tons for Venezuela lines.
18,495 tons for Australian lines.
40,604 tons for Cuban lines.

Total, 94,415 tons.

This is the meagre showing for twenty years, but poor as is the exhibit, it will not bear analysis, for much of the tonnage was not a consequence of the mail subsidy, but the replacement of, or additions to, the vessels in lines then and since existing.

About twenty-five millions of dollars have thus far been

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paid by the nation, without securing a single new, permanent line of steamships. The only apparent effect has been the governmental contribution toward the operating expenses of established lines, and it would be exceedingly difficult to prove that for this vast expenditure we have reaped any advantage whatever, either in the multiplication of our ocean facilities or in the extension of our commerce. Indeed, figures are quoted to show that on some of the subsidized routes the volume of our business has actually declined. Therefore, the experiment, thus far, may be pronounced a dismal and a costly failure.

The attempt to amend the original bill by increasing the compensation of certain classes of ships bore evidence of a studied effort to accomplish this by concealing it in a schedule for the creation of new ocean mail services. Under the proposed amendment of 1908, the following subsidy program was announced:

1. New York to Brazil, 26 voyages per year	$598,000
2. New York to Argentine, 26 voyages per year	717,000
3. San Francisco to Manila, 26 voyages per year	900,000
4. Puget Sound to Japan, 26 voyages per year	770,000
5. San Francisco to Australia, 18 voyages per year	604,000
Total	$3,589,000

In this may be seen the nicely adjusted calculation to absorb the $3,600,000 of the fictitious profit claimed for the foreign mail service.

So serious a subject should not be sunk to the level of party politics; yet one sees the manifest purpose on the one side to gather political glory out of a subsidy method for resurrecting our decayed mercantile marine, while the other side points to the fact that this decadence was coincident with its own loss of power and the introduction of a high protective tariff.

The discussion disclosed the fact that some Congressmen understood and appreciated the underlying causes for the present deplorable condition, and while there was not

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enough strength to force the courageous use of the remedial knife for the needed radical treatment, neither was there on the other hand sufficient power to increase the present method of surface treatment by the ineffective subsidy poultice. Until the public mind becomes sufficiently intelligent on this subject, and until the Congressional mind has been instilled with sufficient courage, the present conditions will remain unchanged.

Our position, in brief, is about as follows:

During the first half of the past century, American ships carried ninety per cent of our imports and exports. This has now shriveled to nine per cent.

The estimated present value of this business is $3,000,000,000; and we are paying to foreigners for the sea transportation of it about $250,000,000 annually.

The problem is purely an economic one, and the $250,000,000 of steamship earnings is the crux of it. The expectation of profit will be the attraction to our capitalists, and not patriotism, nor pride of flag, nor any of the other sentimental reasons vaunted on the floor of Congress. American money has not returned to the business of deep sea transportation because, under existing conditions, there is no hope of profit, and capital cannot be coaxed back into that channel by any ineffective subsidy allurements, with all the uncertainty of their continuance.

Assuredly something must be wrong with an economic system under which a once prosperous business has dwindled during the past sixty years to nearly nothing.

It would seem that our national attention has been diverted from the true reasons; that there has not been enough introspection and too much Congressional, newspaper, and other effort to attribute the present situation to external causes. One cannot escape the conviction that the majority in Congress, while realizing the causes as well as the results, has studiously avoided a diagonal cut across the square of difficulty and has tried, instead, paths that, perhaps, were less politically offensive, but more devious and ineffective, to reach the desired goal.

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Up to the period of our Civil War, the material used in shipbuilding was more abundant and less costly in America than elsewhere in the world. In the state of the art at that time, American designers and mechanics turned out wooden ships that, in strength, beauty, and efficiency, were not excelled, if equaled, by those of any other nation. Our shipowners were not hampered with restrictive laws, and being on an operating level with those of other countries their ships and our flag covered the seas and carried on profitable trade with all civilized nations.

But about the middle of the last century Great Britain developed the possibilities of iron as a structural material. It was more durable than wood, and an iron ship of the same dimensions carried more cargo than a wooden one. From that time the wooden ship, no matter where built or owned, was doomed.

The decadence of American shipping really began at this point. Its partial destruction by Confederate privateers was an unimportant factor in the downfall. We failed to recognize the opportunity, which was seized by England, in respect to metal ships. The national policies differed; she had her freedom of trade, while to our prohibitive and then obsolete navigation laws we added a high protective tariff, which brought in its train the increased wage scale. We were outstripped and outclassed in regard to ocean transportation, and have remained so.

Later, when processes were invented for the cheaper manufacture of steel it was found that because of its greater strength the weight of metal in a vessel could be reduced. The construction of iron ships ceased.

The next step in the evolution was the steel tramp steamer. Experience brought a reduction in the cost of constructing hulls, and improvements in boilers and engines; so that gradually this type of vessel displaced the sailer even on those long voyages for which the sailship alone was deemed fit.

The tramp steamers, in turn, are now being displaced

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slowly, but surely, by the regular line freight boats, whose extreme ports of call, in some instances, compel voyages longer than half the distance around the world.

During this period of evolution, so recent as to be covered by the lives of many now living, and while the yards for the construction of metal ships sprang up and multiplied, first in Great Britain and later in Germany, the United States was hampered by tariff laws that prevented the building of ships at home, by antiquated navigation laws that prevented their purchase abroad, and by restrictive legislation that, no matter where built, made impossible their profitable operation in competition with the foreign shipowner.

These laws make the reëstablishment of our mercantile marine utterly impracticable. They are in the interest of our over-protected steelmakers, our insignificant shipbuilding industry, and our labor unions. Abolish the laws, and the deep-water ship industry will be self-recuperative. But if for political or other than business reasons they must remain operative, then let the American people rest content with their self-made lot, and cease their whining and lamentations over the destruction of their once prosperous mercantile marine. They must submit to the results so long as they tolerate the causes, and the results will not yield to the false expedient of subsidy.

In America, the cost of ship construction is properly stated to be fifty per cent, or more, over that in Great Britain, and varying according to the type of vessel. This cost is divisible into that for material and that for shipyard labor, each item representing approximately about fifty per cent of the total.

As to material, we have an utterly needless tariff on steel, and American prices are based, not on the cost of production plus a reasonable profit, but on the cost of the foreign product plus duty and ocean freight, and generally they are higher than this.

At one time Congress became impressed with the fact

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that the American consumer was paying the tariff on the home product, and it removed the duty on steel intended for use in ships for the foreign trade. This half-way measure, aimed at the steel producer, but protective of the shipbuilder, resulted in the building of only one sailing vessel. The legislation failed of its purpose.

Our tariff makes possible the policy of dumping surplus steel products in foreign markets at rates denied to our home consumption for the fear of temporarily or permanently disturbing the artificial and well controlled domestic prices.

During this recent subsidy agitation, an American capitalist was forced to contract for a steamer to be built in Glasgow; he found that the American structural steel used in his ship was delivered there at lower prices than were quoted to the Delaware River shipyards that figured on the same contract.

Does it look well that a steel corporation, with a capital bloated to $1,000,000,000, should be able, in addition to dividend payments, to boast of accumulated profits of $400,000,000, of which $40,000,000 is available in cash? Who paid the rates that produced such results? Does such a business need prohibition for protection?

Cheap ship construction and a prohibitive tariff are incompatible.

When the catching phrase of the full dinner pail for labor shall have lost its value, when Congress ceases to be deceived by specious arguments in behalf of this "special privileged" steel business and abolishes the unnecessary and prohibitive duty, not as to a particular application of the material, but in toto, then the first step will have been taken toward the slow recovery by the American-built ship of her lost place in the commerce of the world.

The tariff has created the steel kings; it has obliterated the deep-sea shipowners.

Shipyard labor, the next factor in the construction cost, is more difficult of study and of handling. Comparative

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tables of wage rates are published to show that in some departments the labor cost is from fifty to seventy-five per cent more in the shipyards of America than in those of Scotland. Because of this difference in the cost of constructive labor it is possible to send American material to Great Britain and to have it returned in the shape of a ship at a lower cost than if the same material were used in the construction of a similar ship in America.

If we are favored with a real and downward revision of the tariff, one especially directed toward lowering the cost of the necessaries of life, then the greater purchasing power of a dollar may, in time, serve to overcome some of the abhorrence of a reduction in wages; but a material lowering of shipyard labor cost, while a necessity to meet foreign competition, is confessedly a remote possibility.

It is apparent, therefore, that by reason of the great disparity in costs of material and of construction labor, the investment in an American ship is overburdened from the beginning with extra charges for interest, depreciation, and insurance, as compared with the foreign competing vessel.

It must be borne in mind that the American flag may be carried only by ships that are built in America, and that only such ships are permitted to trade between two American ports. Because, and only because of this law, we have been able to develop a coastwise marine that, in tonnage, is second only to that of Great Britain. Without it, the foreigner would have absorbed our domestic sea carriage; with it, we have been able to develop and support such shipbuilding industries as we possess.

But this wall of exclusion stops at our shore line. Within it, we may be monarch of all we survey; beyond it, on the high seas, we are an unimportant and almost a negligible factor.

Again, if we could buy or build ships as cheaply as do our foreign competitors, we could not profitably operate in competition with them. Under what is termed "higher standards of living and greater requirements of comfort,"

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our cost for food and wages is from thirty to fifty per cent greater than that on foreign ships. For example:

TRANS-ATLANTIC SERVICE.

Steamer	Tonnage	No. of Men	Monthly Wages
American, "St. Louis"	11,629	380	$11,306.09
British, "Oceanic"	17,274	427	9,891.32
German, "Kaiser Wilhelm"	14,349	500	7,715.55

WEST INDIA SERVICE.

American	2,100	.....	$1,745.00
German	1,500	.....	1,121.00

PACIFIC SERVICE.

American, "Sonoma"	6,200	157	$6,540.00
Japanese, "America Maru"	6,307	180	2,509.00

The Pacific Mail Steamship Company submitted an official statement showing that with a mixed crew of Asiatics and whites the cost for victualing and manning its five Transpacific steamers was $367,316.64. If whites were substituted for Asiatics, this cost would be increased to $803,810.40.

A steamer, recently built in Glasgow for $236,000 for San Francisco owners, and that would have cost double that sum if built in America, will be sailed under the British flag, with eight men less than if under American registry, and at a difference for the wages and provisioning of nearly $8,000 per year.

The Congressional subsidy advocates realize and appreciate this operating disadvantage, somewhat the result of governmental regulation. One of them thanked Providence that American sailors were not as those of other nations, and with evident seriousness announced his intention of introducing a bill to provide for the adoption of our coastwise standard by civilized countries, which, by agreement, would penalize the vessels of all non-conforming nations.

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Why is not the American shipowner entitled to the same liberty in the employment of skilled and unskilled help that is accorded to the owners of industrial enterprises on land?

From any available, official publications, one may not ascertain the percentage of American citizens employed on our ships; but familiarity with vessels in the Pacific coastwise trade will not permit us to boast, as does Great Britain, that in the manning of her vessels seventy-five per cent are of British birth.

We are not a seafaring people. To our young men, especially, shore life offers more congenial and profitable allurements. Our domestic shipping is peopled largely by foreigners. The sea has lost its attraction for the American sailor, and like the American deep-water shipowner, he has withdrawn and left the business to others.

Here, then, we have an annual volume of $3,000,000,000 worth of American goods, offering a freightage revenue of $250,000,000. We cannot carry the one, nor earn the other, because we have not the ships, and these are lacking because of a perpetuated legislation unsuited to the changed conditions of business. We may not buy ships abroad; on account of prohibitive cost, we cannot build them at home; and in either event we could not profitably operate them in competition with the nations who have outstripped us while we have been asleep under what is now beginning to be recognized as an economic delusion and a political blunder.

It will serve no useful purpose to recount the various remedial expedients that have been proposed in Congress, many of which were utterly indefensible and based on insufficient, or on no practical, knowledge of the business. The recent drift of sentiment has been toward a revival of the imposition of tonnage dues, the giving of preferential duties on goods imported in American ships, and of mail subventions, otherwise called ship subsidies.

As to tonnage dues. If our treaty obligations do not

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inhibit such a policy, a countervailing charge on the part of foreign nations whose vessels were penalized by us would nullify any advantage that might accrue to our own ships. World conditions have so changed as to make punitive measures scarcely tolerable. Only recently we were glad to make peace, without much honor, on the mere show of a tariff concession by Canada.

Preferential duties on imports in American bottoms may be rightful under our treaties; but could the National Treasury withstand the drain incident to overcoming, first, the great disparity of operating costs between American and foreign built ships, and, second, the stupendous lead in tonnage which the foreign rivals now possess? For in the consideration of this economic question the fact must be kept in mind that the mere possession of American built ships will not command the sea trade to and from America. The rates charged by such ships must be as low as those charged by competing lines; otherwise American boats will not be patronized, even by American merchants, whose sense of patriotism will not lead them to pay a premium to have their goods carried under their own flag.

The amount of such reduction in duties may be roughly conceived when it is considered:

First, that the desired end is to increase the carriage in American ships of our imports and exports from the present nine per cent to some higher and satisfactory amount.

Second, that this proposal could apply only to imports, and that our export trade would still be open to the present competition.

Third, that preferential duties must be general in their application and cannot be confined to the relatively few American steamers that carry mail.

Fourth, that it must be large enough to overcome a difference of at least fifty per cent between the cost of operating the American and the foreign ship, and that this disparity must be contributed by import duties.

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On reflection, one is not slow in reaching the conclusion that the problem cannot be satisfactorily solved on these lines.

As to the subsidy plan. The mental attitude of its advocates may be best illustrated by quoting from the speech of a prominent Congressman who gloried in the use of the plain word "subsidy": "There is no other way to save our merchant marine, save by subsidies, and subsidies in amount and in methods which will meet the amount and the methods of our trade rivals, for, as I have said before, we, ourselves, cannot select the weapons with which our enemies will fight us. We can choose our own, and they will choose their own; they have chosen subsidies, and we must inevitably go into a war of subsidies."

The following table of subsidy payments was submitted by him in support of this contention, viz.:

Great Britain and her colonies	$8,118,540
Germany	1,839,414
France	8,606,907
Japan	6,698,771
Norway	163,748
Sweden	31,844
Austria and Hungary	2,854,298
Italy	3,872,917
Portugal	53,000
Russia	1,878,328
Spain	1,879,581
Total	$35,997,348

This speaker, after admitting that the protective tariff was responsible for our present deplorable condition, endeavored to use these figures to illustrate the narrowness of our national view that made necessary even the discussion of the proposed legislation.

But, assuming the figures to be correct, the manifest purpose of their use in this connection was to create the belief in Congress and in the nation that these payments were governmental bestowals to foreign shipowners like in

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character to those paid by us under the Act of 1891 and payable under the proposed amendments; that the nations whose flags were most prominent on the seas had reached and maintained that prominence only through bounties given for shipbuilding and through various forms of subsidies for operating ships; that these subsidies had been and were the obstacle to the rehabilitation of our merchant marine; and that therefore it followed that in this respect our desired goal could be reached only through the adoption of similar subsidy measures.

But it is proper to reply that this is a vain attempt to fasten upon others the causes of our present dilemma, without seeking for their existence within ourselves. Great Britain is the largest builder and operator of ships in the world, and yet less than five per cent of her tonnage receives any kind of governmental assistance, and this is extended largely to lines connecting her with her oversea dependencies. True, she paid the Cunard Line in 1908 $733,860 for the fast weekly mail service between New York and Liverpool; but during the same year the United States paid for similar service to the so-called "American" Line $737,016. There is this difference, however, in the result. The Cunard Line is increasing its fleet by newer, faster, and more modern ships. The American Line has four vessels, two of which were built in England and by Act of Congress were admitted to American registry. It is a unit in a steamship aggregation conceived and largely financed by Americans, and while we do not learn that the American mail subsidy paid to this unit has brought about additions to its size or importance, we do learn that the controlling company finds means to make the White Star element of the same combination one of the most powerful steamship companies in the world. Does not this fact strongly prove the inutility of our ship subsidy policy?

Instead of permitting ourselves to be led by false estimates of results, or of being misled by statements of the

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alleged value of English practice, which applies to less than five per cent of her tonnage, should we not rather study the secret of the success which attended the creation, maintenance, and profitable operation of the other ninety-five per cent of her shipping that is entirely unaided? This is the real problem for us, and not that of imitating her alleged subventions.

There are some Americans who from the love of shipping and the hope of profit have ventured their capital in ships for foreign trading, and who have given a practical demonstration in the solution of this national problem; but they are compelled to resort to the miserable makeshift of having their foreign-built ships carried in the name of a foreign corporation in order to escape the enormous inequalities due to American economic conditions and legal requirements. What these men thus acquired is what our country needs,—the liberty to buy and to operate ships that is enjoyed by our competitors; and if in a fair field American owners cannot get and keep their proper share of ocean freighting, especially that which concerns their own commerce, they deserve the resulting penalty and should charge ill-success to their own indifference and incompetency rather than to the superior skill of their rivals. It is a wrong policy to retain antiquated, prohibitory, and restrictive laws and attempt to antidote their baneful effect by drafts upon the United States Treasury. If ship subsidy is permitted to fasten itself and become a fixed and settled policy, it will be as difficult of control as have been the protective tariff and pension laws. At nearly every session of Congress, for twenty years past, attempts have been made to enlarge the ship subsidy expenditures that had their beginning under the blunder of 1891.

We may here anticipate the question whether the free ship policy would not be disastrous to our shipbuilding industry. The answer is made in a statement of fact and of a national experience. America is not building ships for the foreign trade. Under existing conditions it is im-

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possible for her to do so. Therefore she would suffer no loss in construction; but if a free ship policy would augment our mercantile marine her yards would profit through greater opportunities for remunerative repair work. The answer from experience is made by Germany. Her people have freedom to buy ships anywhere. She has been among the largest customers of British shipyards, but purchases abroad have not prevented her building at home. In 1868 she had seven shipbuilding establishments. By 1897 these had increased in number to twenty-three, which turned out in that year one hundred and twenty-one vessels. Germany may now boast of its Hamburg-American Line, which possesses the largest fleet of any company in the world.

Our Congressmen, who have in their hands the power of curing the evils of our condition, spend their time in vainly vociferating for the adoption of a subsidy nostrum which stands self-condemned in respect of real value.

A survey of the field will indicate how difficult is the problem before us and how slow the solution will be. In the foreign constructional departments, we see the specializing of vessel types, the perfection of organization and of facilities that promote speed in delivery and economy in cost. We see the largeness of undertakings and the enterprise and skill displayed in handling the commerce of the world. We see the completeness with which lines of mail, passenger, and freight steamers are covering routes between all commercial points. Gorged as they are with tonnage, we see the foreigners constantly studying the development of new routes. And then we begin to realize that by the time American shipping could possibly reach a position of importance, every attractive foreign route, leading to or from our shores, will have been occupied by the foreign lines, and that any position we may acquire must be fought for and won, for it cannot be purchased by our government. The payment of a few millions per year to a relatively few mail vessels touches only the fringe of a stupendous question, and one feels that the recovery

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of a material part of our lost prestige, even under the most favoring circumstances, must be a slow and, perhaps, a painful process.

Nor during the study of this subject can one repress other questions: What substantial results would follow our rehabilitation, either through the purchase and use of foreign ships, or through a generous subsidy policy to home-built vessels? Would the American shippers and consignees get better service or cheaper freights than they now enjoy? Would there then be profit to the American shipowner? The subsidy plan contemplates the development of lines to and from American ports and not a world-wide scheme of transportation on which England with her five thousand steamers is working. If an American line should start on an occupied route, it will mean either the survival of the stronger concern, or a combination of those concerned for the maintenance of rates. As between the alternatives of competition with loss or of a combination with the expectation of profit, we may safely predict the choice of the American and of every other investor. The cost of sea freightage responds to the law of supply and demand. The ocean tonnage of the world is equal to its heaviest normal need. Too frequently it is in excess, and in general the business of shipbuilding is considered as overdone. To this fact may be attributed the prevalence of rates so low as to excite wonder in the minds of those who have watched their trend during thirty years past. From this fact, one may properly conclude that the American will hesitate before attacking in a large way such a congested and highly competitive condition. In advance, he cannot with any degree of certainty see profit, and if any profit be visible, while it may be satisfactory to the foreigner, it will be under that to which the American has been accustomed and below that promised in other lines of investment.

In so far as American commerce is concerned, the stake to be played for is such part of the $250,000,000 of freight

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money as the American may take from the foreign ships, for he cannot possibly win all of it. If the outcome of such a struggle is uncertain, and if American commerce will not profit by lower rates or better service and facilities, then, in the absence of any apparent or assured advantage, is it un-American and unpatriotic to think that the foreigner may well continue to supply our tonnage needs on the seas and we continue the use of our capital in other lines of profit?

Many of our Congressmen seem filled with envy and covetousness in respect of our neighbors; they beat the air and give vent to vapid and unpractical sentimentalism. They appear to see our nation, great in everything else, being gradually encaged between bars composed of foreign ships that are closing around us and that will soon complete the extinction of our mercantile marine, leaving nothing but a sad memory of our former ascendency; and the only relief that they offer is through the golden key of subsidy. They fail to look within and thus see that our bars have been self-forged and that the way of accomplishment lies in the destruction of the self-made cage.

For permanent results, what seem to be the needs of our country in respect of our commercial navy are:

1. The abolition of the navigation laws so as to permit the American to purchase ships intended for foreign trade in the cheapest markets.

2. A study of the laws and customs of our successful rivals in order to make ours in conformity with them. This will put the American on a parity of cost with his rival. If he cannot then hold his own in the competitive struggle, he should withdraw from it.

3. Abolish the tariff on steel, so that the prices for home consumption will drop to the level of the prices charged by American producers to the foreigner.

4. Revise the tariff on life's necessaries so that under a lower wage cost the standard of living may not be reduced.

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5. Abolish subsidies and pay generously for carrying mails.

Under these conditions there will be hope for a revival of our mercantile marine, but it cannot be stimulated from a moribund state into a permanent and vigorous life by any subsidy scheme that will be tolerable to our people and to the United States Treasury. We have tried this for twenty years past. It has produced no visible result. Should we not try the plan under which our rivals have attained great success?

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THE PUBLIC SCHOOL*

BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER

The American public school confronts to-day an utterly different task from that implied in the purposes which first gave it birth. It was called into being to serve the uses of a reasonably homogeneous people,—homogeneous in language and traditions, under a strong predominance of Anglo-Saxon blood and spirit. The sources of Anglo-Saxon immigration have long since been choked and the Anglo-Saxon stock in the new world becomes less and less productive with the years. It is a dying and vanishing race. Within the last decade the scale has abruptly tipped, in the count of population, from the old inhabitant to the newcomer. In our chief American city scarcely one in ten is old American, and even in old New Haven but one child in five in the public schools is of native parentage. In Boston the balance has already shifted from the Puritan to the newcomer. The old United States as it existed before the Civil War is hurrying off the scene, and a new people mixed of many European bloods, most of which had little or no share in the original occupation, is coming to possess the land, and give inevitably a new meaning to the name American; a new meaning inevitably, so far as it refers to blood and bone and even to type and temperament,—but what of ideas and ideals? Can or cannot the precious

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heritage of social liberty and equal opportunity which long struggle and sacrifice have associated with the word Americanism be safely transferred along with the name from the old possessors to the new? The time is short, the inheritors are legion, the possession vanishes from the hand of him who understandeth not, like a tender perfume from the unsealed jar.

Whether the transfer can be made,—that is the new problem which confronts us as a people; and the solution of this problem constitutes the new task which the unfoldings of these later years have revealed and assigned to the American public school. The splendid institutions of enlightenment, schools, libraries, museums, institutes of art and instruction, which the sons of the Boston Puritans created for themselves and their children, have already been assigned, by a power that knew better why they builded than they knew themselves, to the task of assimilating into the American community the children of those whom Europe neglected and oppressed. Such, too, may well be the destiny of that whole system of institutions shapened to the betterment of society with which the old Americans as forerunners endowed this land. They may be a vanishing race, but if an estate which they, beyond the ordinary measure of men, were potent to create shall have served for the betterment of mankind in the hands even of heirs by adoption, they will have done their work and justified their existence. This is no new thing in the ways of the world and the fates of the races of man. The Myceneans inspired in the later-coming Greeks the zeal for building and art, and the Etruscans laid foundations upon which the Latins learned to build the Eternal City, by which in the process of the years wave after wave of invading barbarism has been absorbed into civilization.

The most potent instrument by which the school operates to mould the diverse elements of population into a people capable of nationality is the maintenance of a common standard of speech. Difference of race loses in the presence

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of unity of speech its divisive power. Nationality all over the world tends more and more to shape itself on social intercourse as determined by language. The power to make oral use of the English tongue simply, directly, exactly, is a fundamental equipment for good citizenship and effective living. The establishment of this use throughout the nation is a fundamental guarantee of that uniformity of intercourse among its citizens which provides a basis for the permanent commonwealth. It is the plain and correct use of language that we ask the schools to teach and not to neglect it in the pursuit of the artificialities of rhetoric and the aesthetics of literature.

American does not mean Anglo-Saxon, nor is it at all a word of race. We are a nation by virtue of our common speech, and more than that, by virtue of certain instincts, faiths, and predilections which we group under the term Americanism; and these are some of them: to judge men as individuals and not as members of a class nor by the possession of goods; to abhor fixed and wooden standards in the judgment of flesh and blood and to try to see things as the other fellow sees them; to shift often the perspective lest little things gain bigness by being too near the eye; to resent the exaction of the uttermost farthing; to count on human brotherhood despite the race lines; to be interested in everything human; to be hospitable toward innovation and change; to have constant faith in betterment and belief that all which lives improves; to trust many things to right themselves; to have more confidence in the law that is within than in the exercise of force; to allow a man free opportunity for unfolding his life; and to give all men of whatever class or wealth equal standing before the law. We are ludicrous optimists; we tolerate all sorts of laxities; we are humbugged and deluded; we suffer from lack of training; we waste our materials fearfully: but we are charitable toward the diversities of human character and equipment, and with all our losses prefer to give men their freedom rather than make them machines.

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This is Americanism. It is the religion of a land where all the races of Europe are mingling their bloods and tempers to bring into being the new occidental man and set him to face the man of the East. And here today, where half the world looks out through its farthermost gate toward the other world-half, that power which has in its hands the fate of the peoples has assembled and seated itself in council,—the American public school.

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VIGNETTES FROM SIAMESE LEGEND AND LIFE

CORNELIUS BEACH BRADLEY

I. PRINCESS CHAMATEWI AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BUDDHIST FAITH IN THE NORTH OF SIAM"[1]

One day while the Lord Buddha sojourned in the forest near the city of Benares, he directed his thought with angelic vision into the future, and discerned that in days to come his holy relics and his sacred doctrine would appear refulgent in the Sayāma realm; that a royal capital named Haripūnchai should arise there, and over it should rule a king Atitayarāt, who would cherish and glorify both the relics and the teaching of the Buddha. He saw that it would be well that he himself go thither, and grant the people of that region the special grace of hearing from his own lips his doctrine and commandments. So when morning came, he rose from his bed, bathed his body, put on his monastic dress, took his alms-pot in his hand, and sweeping through the region of the air, descended at length in a forest were is now the city of Chaiyapūm. After resting a while beneath a tree, he took up his alms-pot and made his way to a little hamlet near by. The folk there gathered about him, and discerning that the visitor was none other than the Lord Buddha himself, were filled with joy and devotion. They hastened to prepare cooked food, and offered it to him; and then begged that he would unfold to them his doctrine and commandments. The Lord

[1] From the *Annals of the North.*

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Buddha, helper of the world, graciously preached unto them all the Law of Righteousness as was his wont. His hearers were illumined by the truth, and took upon themselves the vows of the religious life, pledging themselves to hold fast by the Three Refugees—Buddha, Dharma, and Sanga.

When his words were ended, the Lord moved on thence a little way westward to the spot where later the city of Haripūnchai was to be, and the whole multitude of the people followed him; when lo! a platform of rock twelve cubits square, and with surface as even as a drum-head, pushed itself up from the ground beside his feet. The Lord Buddha set down his alms-pot on the rock-table, and spake unto the folk as follows: "Hearken all ye folk. In the days that are to be there shall be builded on this spot a royal city bearing the name of Haripūnchai, and it shall be ruled by a king called Atitayarāt, the greatest of your race. When for me this life of the senses is extinguished, relics of my bodily members shall manifest themselves in this realm, and King Atitayarāt will piously care for and honor them."

Having uttered this oracle, the Lord Budda stretched forth his hand, took the alms-pot, and set it upon the upturned palm of his hand. The pot floated up in the air, and with it the Lord soared away to the forest near Benares, where was his abode, and the country folk returned to their homes. But there was a white crow, king of the crows, who followed the Lord Buddha when he came, and who heard the oracle. He therefore told it to one of his sons, and charged him to guard that spot. The warder at his death left the charge to his son, and he in turn to his, and so on down in unbroken succession.[2]

When now one thousand and eight years were ended since the passing of the Buddha, there were four men of

[2] In the sequel, fourteen hundred years later, the warder crow saved the sacred spot from unwitting desecration at the hands of Atitayarāt himself.

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different cities, who had once been initiated into the monastic life, but afterwards had left it, and had taken unto themselves wives. Later, however, they saw the evil of carnal pleasure, turned from it with disgust, and betook themselves to the wilderness of the Himalaya, and there became eremites, continuing in spiritual exercise until they had attained the five steps of supernal knowledge and the eight degrees of perfection. After this, these four friends returned to their several countries, and lived thereafter apart as Yogīs in the wilderness; one of them on Mt. Doi Sutēp near Chiengmai (not far from the site of the predicted city), and one near Lawō (Lopburī) far to the south.

One day as the hermit of Doi Sutēp came down from his cell to bathe in the stream at the foot of the mountain, he spied three pairs of human infants, male and female, lying in the footprints severally of an elephant, a rhinoceros, and a wild ox. Pitying their helplessness, he took them to his cell, nourished them with milk which by magic he caused to flow from his finger-tips, and when they were grown he gave them each to each in marriage, according to their several origins; and these lived as attendants upon the Yogī. Later there came a doe and licked the earth where the Yogī was wont to ease himself, and by and by she dropped twin human infants in that place, and left them there. These too the Yogī found and cared for, and when they were grown he gave them also to each other as man and wife. Then by his magic he caused to spring into being a city for these his wards to dwell in. But the pair that were come of his own blood he made lords of the city, and hoped that thus the oracle of the Lord Buddha might come to fulfillment. And indeed for a time the city prospered. But the conduct of that ruler and his people was evil, so that the Dēvas were angered at their insolence and injustice. And they caused both people and city to sink in a flood, so that the place became a lake, and so remains to the present day—Lake Nawng Mawn.

When the Yogī saw this, he was grieved at heart and

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troubled lest the oracle should fail of fulfillment. And he bethought him to take counsel of his brother Yogī of Lawō. While he mused how this should be accomplished, the dēva of a bamboo-clump, discerning his thought, came and begged to be his messenger. So the Yogī wrote to his brother of Lawō a letter, and gave it into the keeping of the dēva, who thereupon embarked on a truncheon of bamboo, and so floated down with the current until he reached Lawō. Just them the Yogī of Lawō was come down from the mountain to bathe, and seeing the floating bamboo, he thrice stretched out his staff towards it; whereupon the bamboo crossed over from the other shore to where the Yogī stood. The dēva came forth, stated his errand, and delivered the letter. The Yogī read it and said: "Seven days hence I will go to meet him. Go you on before, and tell him."

On the seventh day, therefore, the two Yogīs each left his hermitage, and came soaring through the air, meeting his fellow half way. Wherefore is the name of that place Chieng Krûng (Half Way City) unto this day. After due courtesies of greeting and conference the two proceeded to the rock-platform whereon the Lord Buddha had rested his alms-pot. Then the Yogī of Lawō sought augury of the clods of earth which he turned up with his staff. The first clod held seven precious gems; the second a live coal; and the third only withered grains of rice. Then said he: "Three sorts of kings shall bear rule over the city we build: first, those who excel in righteousness, under whom the realm shall be glorious like these gems; second, those of but ordinary virtue, whose light shall be dim like that of the coal; and last, those who are unrighteous, like the withered rice without substance." To which the other answered, "But we should found the city notwithstanding, and let whatever must be happen when it must."

The question of the shape or outline of the city was next taken up, and it was decided to adopt the ground plan of Sī Sachanālai, a city which had ever been fortunate—

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namely, the shape of a conch shell. So through the help of another member of this Yogī brotherhood, a great conch from the ocean was brought to them by a mighty eagle for a pattern, and the two traced the outline of its figure on the ground with their staves. As fast as they traced the line, the furrow deepened, and the ridge heaped itself up to make a wall; whence is the name of the city Lampūn to this day, that is, "heaped up." In like manner by their magic was the city builded at once, with bastions, battlements, gates, streets, parks, palaces, dwelling houses great and small, store-houses, reservoirs, and gardens, complete in every particular.

Then said the sage of Sutēp to his brother: "See, this city of ours is exceedingly beautiful. Where shall we find one worthy to rule over it?" The other answered: "The Prince of Lawō is steadfast in the ten rules of kingly righteousness, and is a mighty king. His daughter, Chāmatēwī, is endowed with wisdom, shrewdness, capacity, and knowledge. She is versed in royal affairs; is complete in beauty, morals, manners; is pitiful and kind; is firm in truth and righteousness; is fit to be sovereign here and to rule over this city. Let us ask the Prince of Lawō for this scion of his house to plant her here in this realm." So it was agreed, and a noble was sent with a letter from the sage of Sutēp and with royal presents, to accompany the sage of Lawō on his errand.

On his arrival in Lawō the sage acquainted the Prince with all things relating to the matter, from the visit of the Lord Buddha and his prophecy down to the magic creation of the city of Lampūn. The ambassador was given audience. The letter was read asking for the Princess Chāmatēwī to be made ruler of the new city. The Princess was called in, was informed of all that was planned, and was asked whether she were really desirous to go. She answered that whatever her royal father wished her to do she would do with her whole heart. The Prince was glad, and gave her his blessing, adding, "Whatever you want,

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your father will see that you are provided with." She bowed herself and said: "I would ask to have the Buddha, the Law, and five hundred members of the monastic order that know the Tripitaka;[3] and besides these, five hundred each of Brahmans, astrologers, scholars, physicians, and masters of each of the various arts and trades; and five hundred men of wealth, to fulfill all the needs of the new city." And her father consented unto all that she asked.

Now the Princess Chāmatēwī had been given in marriage unto the Uparāt (the second in authority) of Lawō, and was then three months with child. So the Uparāt was summoned and the matter was laid before him. Seeing no way to refuse, he consented—but ruefully because of his love for her. So presently was held the coronation festival of eight days, beginning with the full moon of the eighth month. Then her father bestowed upon her treasure, weapons, attendants, soldiers, and all things needful for the maintenance of her royal state, and gave her into the hands of the sage of Lawō and of the ambassador, with his own good will and blessing in all that the sage of Sutēp had desired.

We next hear of tearful farewells and parting blessings exchanged between the newly made Queen and those whom she leaves behind, first among whom is expressly named the forsaken husband. The hour of auspicious augury arrives. The Queen embarks in her barge of state for the long journey. But at the very head of the procession rides the Buddha enthroned; the Dharma, or Law; then the Sanga, the monastic brotherhood; and after these the Queen.

The features of scenery and the incidents of the trip are made in the chronicle the basis of an interesting chapter of Folk-Etymology on the names of places and objects along the route. When she reaches at length the threshold of her realm, the Queen pauses. She has come to bring in the faith of the Buddha; and here where she first sets foot on the soil of her realm, she stops to plant it. She

[3] The Buddhist Scriptures—literally, *The Three Baskets.*

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brings up a company of archers, and directs them to shoot their arrows northward, in order that by their flight and fall may be determined the auspicious spot. On that spot she builds a Chēdī (dagoba), in the center of which is set a casket of the precious relics of the Buddha. About the Chēdī she rears a monastery with all its buildings and appointments complete, and she casts for the sanctuary a bronze image of the Buddha. The monastery is known to the present day as the Lawō monastery, and the Buddha has become famous for miraculous cures. But not until all this was done did the Queen build a pavilion for her own shelter.

Meantime the sage of Lawō and the ambassador had gone on to Doi Sutēp, and made known to its sage the success of their mission and the arrival of the Queen. Preparations at once were made for her reception. In due time she made her triumphant entry into the city of Lampūn, and was installed with great state as sovereign of the realm. Seven days later the Queen was delivered of twin boys, thus assuring the perpetuation of her line. Her realm prospered greatly, till it contained four thousand towns and large villages, to say nothing of innumerable hamlets. The monks who accompanied the Queen from Lawō instructed the people everywhere in the law of righteousness. No less than two thousand monasteries were founded, and all were filled with converts to the new faith. After a long and glorious reign the Queen died at the age of ninety-two, and her descendants sat on her throne unto the ninth generation.

II. A TALE FROM THE PONGSAWADAN

[From the dim background of the Chronicles of the Kings of Siam, with its monotonous recurrence of royal accessions, forays, elephant-hunts, founding of monasteries, and deaths, there stands out in startling relief the following tale of passion, crime, and Nemesis, with personality, gesture, speech, action, and circumstance, all so vividly real

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as to leave no doubt that the story is essentially authentic, and that the master spirit of the counter-plot was the source of the narrator's information. The date is 1527-29 A.D.]

After a reign of fourteen years, King Pra Chai Rāchā, while returning from an expedition against Chiengmai, fell sick and died. His body was brought home to his capital, Ayuthia, and there with all due observance was committed to the flames. Two sons survived him, one of eleven years, and one of five; and more remote than they, but still within the shadow of the throne, was Prince Pra Tien Rāchā, who thus communed with himself: "If I continue in secular life, nothing but destruction awaits me; nor do I see any shelter or escape from it save in the religious order and the monastic robe, that banner under which the ascetic overcomes the world." So he had himself consecrated as a Buddhist monk; while the young prince, eleven years old, ascended the throne, having his mother, the Lady Sī Sudāchan, to help him in the affairs of the kingdom.

In that year was a great earthquake. In the next year a greater portent befell. On a Saturday, the fifth of the 8th Moon, the young king ordered two famous war elephants to be brought out and pitted against each other on the parade ground in the presence of all the court. In the encounter the tusk of one of them was broken in three pieces. And when evening fell, the king's elephant cried aloud with a voice as of a man mourning and lamenting; and the great palace gate shrieked in token of coming disaster.

One day the Queen Mother, Lady Sī Sudāchan, rode forth on her throne-elephant to take the air, and as she passed the royal stables her eye fell upon Panabut, keeper of the king's elephants; and she loved him. She sent him by the hand of one of her maidens a portion of areca-nut and betel leaf wrapped up in her own handkerchief. Panabut understood the message, and by way of answer put into the maiden's hand a champā flower for her mistress. The lady's passion grew apace. Not long after this she sent

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for the Lord Chamberlain, and said: "Panabut was a faithful servant of my lord the late king. Let him be made Keeper of the Elephants for the Harem here." So it was done; and thereafter the royal lady found many opportunities for meeting her lover.

At last she planned to give the kingdom itself into his hand. She ennobled him with the title of Kun Worawongsā (Lord of Royal Lineage), built for him a pavilion beside the Hall of the Rolls, and put him in charge of the conscripts, that he might be in possession of whatever force might be needed to carry out her project. She even set up for him in public a throne as of royal state, so that all should recognize his advancement, and built for him a Hall of Audience at the entering in of the Earth Gate beside the plane-tree there.

After these things on a certain day Prayā Mahā Sēnā, meeting another great noble, said to him, "With the kingdom in such confusion and shame, what should we be thinking of doing?" Next day Prayā Mahā Sēnā was sent for to come to an audience at the Earth Gate; and at evening, when he had taken his leave, there was one without in waiting who thrust him through from behind. He fell to the ground with only breath enough to say, "If so it goes with me, what may they expect who come after?"

By this time the Queen Mother was expecting the birth of a child, and took counsel thus with the nobles of the court. "Our son, the King, is a mere child, who cares for nothing but play. The conduct of the realm is utterly beyond his power. The northern states are none too loyal to us. We are thinking of having Kun Worawongsā direct affairs until our royal son grows up to manhood. What think you?" The courtiers discerning in what quarter the wind sat, made answer, "The word your Grace has uttered is well pleasing." So the Lady called for the Mayor of the Palace, and directed him to fetch the royal sedan-chair, and with it all the insignia of kingship, the trumpets and the conchs, and go forth and bring in Kun

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Worawongsā to the Palace and into the Throne Chamber." So with solemn rites and festival he was installed as sovereign of the realm, and his brother was made Uparāt, or second in authority.

The new-made king then took counsel with the Lady Sī Sudāchan, saying: "The Princes of the northern states are disaffected. We shall have to bring them down to the capital, and appoint in their places others who will thus be secured to us." The Lady agreed, and on the morrow, in full council, an order was prepared and despatched to the north, commanding forthwith at the capital the presence of the seven northern lords.

A little later, on the fifth of the 8th Moon, after counsel taken with the Lady Sī Sudāchan, Kun Worawongsā had the lad, her son, led forth and slain at Wat Kōk Prayā. So perished he after an empty reign of two years and six months. But his brother, the younger prince, was spared.

Then Kun Intaratēp, of royal lineage, and Kun Pirēntaratēp, and two other nobles, confiding in each other, went into secret counsel together, saying: "The realm is in dire confusion, but we must not leave it to go down to ruin. We must destroy Kun Worawongsā." "But," said they, "if we succeed in that, whom then shall we find to make king of this realm?" Then spake Kun Pirēntaratēp and said, "There is none who can become king but Pra Tien Rāchā, the priest." "If that be so," said the others, "we must take him into our counsels, so that we all may act together." So the four were agreed, and went out to the monastery where he abode, and told him of their thought, and he consented thereto. "But," said the three, "our undertaking is very great. Let us make solemn trial by the ordeal of candles in the presence of the sacred image of the Buddha, that we may know whether we shall succeed or not." "But," said Kun Pirēntaratēp, "having gone so far, if now we make trial by candles, and the trial go against us, shall we not lose our only chance of success? Or do I understand that we will make no attempt at all,

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unless we first make the trial?" At that the five men separated, and went each his several way, without having reached any decision.

That same evening, after nightfall, the three who were for submitting it to the arbitrament of the ordeal, returned secretly to the monastery, and together with Pra Tien Rāchā, the prince-priest, proceeded to make two candles exactly alike and equal—weighing out equal weights of wax, counting an equal number of threads for the two wicks, and rolling them out to exactly equal lengths. They then repaired to the sanctuary, where the prince first prostrated himself before the image of the Buddha, making the five-fold obeisance in due form. Then he ordered his solemn prayer as follows: "When the sovereign Lord of the Three Worlds still abode in this earth of ours, and moved about in mercy among his creatures, he was wont by his divine knowledge to resolve their perplexities and end their doubts as to what they should do. And when the Lord Buddha entered into Nirvāna, he yet in great mercy left the five sacred memorials of himself—his sacred likeness, the Bō tree, the pagoda-shrine, the holy relics, and the sacred scriptures, to be stay and support unto creatures born after him. This is my affirmation and faith. And now I have it in my heart to lay hold of the kingly power, to the end that having become great, I may so order affairs that this realm may be established in justice, that the multitude both of priests and people may find in it their defense, and have peace and happiness according to the ancient rule of kingship. This I solemnly affirm and swear. And yet I am in doubt as to whether the event is to be according to my desire. I humbly pray that the sovereign power of those five sacred memorials of the Lord Buddha, which he ordained, and the two solemn asseverations which I have made, may be my succor to end my doubt. I, servant of the all-knowing, will make solemn trial by candles—one for me, and one for Kun Worawongsā. If because of meritorious deeds done in former

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states of existence, and because of my actions in this state, I am to reap fruition of my wish, and win the crown, and end the miseries of the whole realm—priests, nobles, and people—am to be patron and defender of the Buddhist faith, unto its lasting splendor and victory—may the candle of Kun Worawongsā burn out first. If it is not to be according to my hope and wish, may my candle burn out first. I invoke divine power and the truth of my solemn protestations to end the uncertainty by the ordeal of these two candles which I have chosen and do now burn as an holy offering and as a test of the event."

The prayer ended, he lighted the candles, and the four watched there in silence. Later came Kun Pirēntaratēp; and seeing what was going on, and that the candle of Kun Worawongsā was visibly the longer, he was wroth, and said, "Didn't I tell you not to? And now you have done it!" and taking the quid of areca from his mouth, he flung it angrily from him at hazard. Nevertheless, though he did not at all mean it so, it struck the usurper's candle and extinguished it to the wonder and joy of the five men. At that moment there walked into the sanctuary, clad in the three robes of his order and holding his talipot fan, the figure of a priest, who gave them his blessing, saying, "Ye shall surely attain the thing ye have desired." The five men prostrated themselves to the ground before him. He turned and passed out as he had come, and utterly vanished from their sight.[4]

Fifteen days later the governor of Lopburī reported that a fine male elephant, six cubits and four finger-breadths in height, with ears, tail, and all other points perfect, had attached itself to the heard of elephants near that city. A week later came word that the herd had left Lopburī, and was moving toward Ayuthia. So the usurper made arrangements to witness the capture in person the next day

[4] The apparition is understood to be that of Indra, who, in the Buddhist cosmogony, figures as a mighty archangel whose function it is in special crises to intervene for the help and encouragement of men.

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in the great stockade. That night Kun Pirēntaratēp completed his plan of action. He sent a trusty man to await the usurper's brother as he should ride his elephant across country next morning to the meet. The man took position beside the road, as if he were an appointed guard, and when the brother came up, he shot him so that he fell dead from the elephant's neck to the ground.

Just before this the disaffected northern lords from Pichai and Sawankalōk had arrived in response to the summons, and readily entered into the plot. Before daybreak these lords and three of the conspirators—one of them being Pirēntaratēp— each in his own separate boat, with rowers fully armed, had posted themselves on either side of a narrow channel where the royal barge was to pass. At early dawn the royal party embarked—the paramour, the Lady, the child born of the two, and her other child that had been spared—all in one boat; and behind them followed Kun Intaratēp to cut off retreat. The royal barge enters the narrow passage. The four boats swing out into the stream and close the passage ahead. "Who dares come so near?" angrily shouts the usurper. "I," comes the answer from Pirēntaratēp, "to have the lives of you two!" In an instant he is alongside, and has sprung aboard. Paramour, Lady, and child are slain, and their bodies next day are impaled at the Temple of the Vultures.

III. A NEW YEAR'S LEVEE IN THE LAO CAPITAL

Many interesting memorials of a state of life and society more primitive than that which now prevails are still to be found in the remoter provinces of Siam, though many also have passed away with the passing of the feudal order in that country. Among these last, one of the most interesting, and at the same time one of the least known, is the ceremony of *Dam Hūa*, the annual baptism or bath which the feudal lords of the north were wont to receive at the hands of their vassals and subjects, by way of New Year's greetings with wishes for "many happy returns of the

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day." The name *Dam Hūa* means the ducking or plunging of the head under water, and plainly points to a time when the ceremony actually took place in the waters of the river, and the princely head was actually ducked or plunged beneath the surface. And this inference is abundantly confirmed by references to the ceremony in the annals of the northern provinces, particularly by one tale which records the end of a wicked prince, who, as we are told, while in the midst of the rite, was seized and carried off by a mermaid! There is here, of course, positive evidence as to the original location and manner of the ceremony, though the thoughtful reader may perhaps question whether the prince's disappearance may not have been due to quite obvious human agency, taking advantage of the license of the occasion, rather than to the intervention of such a *dea ex machina*—or even of a hungry crocodile, which is the interpretation of the more rationalistic critics.

All such rites, as we know, tend continually to have their cruder features refined away—to become more symbolic and less realistic; and this particular rite, as we shall see, is no exception to the rule. But if such accidents as the one just noted were at all frequent, we may be sure that the refining process would have been carried much farther than is actually the case.

As we have already said, the ceremony of *Dam Hūa* is no more seen in Siam. The princely courts, and the feudal order of which they were a part, have given way to a centralized monarchy and direct administration of the provinces by the government of Siam. And with the passing of these have come to an end all the ancient usages and quaint ceremonials of those courts. The scene which I shall now present took place in Chiengmai, the chief provincial capital of the north, forty-three years ago, during the reign of the last great feudal prince of that region. It was witnessed and described by the late Rev. Daniel McGilvary, D.D., the pioneer missionary there, during the first year of his residence. The following account of it is condensed from his unpublished autobiography:

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At the Lão New Year it is customary for all persons of princely rank, all officers and people of influence, to present their compliments to the Prince in person, and to take part in the ceremony of "Dam Hũa" by way of wishing him a happy New Year. Because of the Prince's absence on a military expedition in pursuit of a noted robber chieftain, the ceremony could not be observed at the regular time; but it was no less brilliantly carried out a few days after his return.

The first and more exclusive part of the ceremony took place in the palace, where I also was privileged to offer my New Year's greetings along with the rest. The great audience hall was crowded with the Prince's family and with officials of all degrees. The air was heavy with the fragrance of flowers which loaded every table and stand. All were in readiness with their silver vessels filled with water, awaiting his Highness' appearance. At length an officer with a long silver-handled spear announced his coming. The whole company received him with a profound prostration after the old-time fashion. Seeing me standing, he sent for a chair, saying that the ceremony was long and that I would be tired before it was done. The Court Orator, or Scribe, then read a long address of welcome to the Prince on his return from his brilliant campaign, with high sounding compliments on its success, though really it had been a dismal failure. Then there was a long invocation of all the powers above and beneath, real or imaginary, not to molest, but rather to protect, guide, and bless his Highness' person, realm, and people, with corresponding curses invoked on his enemies and theirs. Then came the ceremonial bath, administered first by his own family, his relatives, and high officials—he standing on the dais while vase after vase of water was poured on his head, drenching him completely and flooding all the floor. Such an ablution is not at all unpleasant in a hot climate, however unendurable it might be in colder regions.

This was the beginning. According to immemorial cus-

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tom, a pavilion had been prepared on a sand-bar in the river. To this, after the ceremony in the palace, the Prince went in full state, riding on an elephant richly caparisoned with trappings of solid gold, to receive a like bath at the hands of his loyal subjects generally—beginning as before with some high officers, and then passing on to the common people, who might all take part in this strange ceremony.

The festival had its popular observance as well. It was then much more than it is now, a season of general merriment and frolic, especially among young people of both sexes. Here too the central feature was the ablution, which was all the more interesting if it were impromptu. At every corner, and behind every door and window, some mischievous young man or maiden stood concealed with a bucket of water, ready to drench some victim preferably of the other sex. Not in all lands surely would a lover hope to advance his suit by so greeting his lady-love.

So far the courtly levee and the popular frolic with its suggestion of saturnalian freedom, the world-wide accompaniment of New Year's greetings. We have seen how even in its courtly phase the refining process of which I have spoken had not yet eliminated all its democratic features and associations. But the softening and generalizing which have overtaken the name of the ceremony is also a thing interesting enough to claim a moment's attention. The term *Dam Hūa*—to duck the head—has in time come to be nothing more than the ordinary formula of compliment and good wishes to accompany any slightest gift or reminder of friendship. "My master," says the messenger, "sends you this to duck your head."

IV. THE DEATH AND OBSEQUIES OF A LAO PRINCE

I bring this series of vignettes to a close with a sketch of the scenes attending the death and the obsequies of the same Lāo Prince whom just now we saw in the midst of the New Year festivities. The Prince was a capable ruler,

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but one whose treachery and vindictiveness had made him greatly feared. At this time, after a season of murderous cruelty, resulting in what was well nigh a reign of terror, he had been summoned to Bangkok to answer as defendant in certain important lawsuits brought by British timber merchants in Maulmein. The suits were likely to go against him, and every one in Chiengmai looked forward with dread at thought of the temper in which he was likely to come home. Chiengmai, it should be remembered, was at least six weeks' journey from Bangkok, and the only sure means of communication between the two was by special messenger. The substance of the following account is taken from Dr. McGilvary's manuscript.

The first news received was that the time had been set for the Prince's return; that he had been promoted to higher honors and titles, and was coming home with powers more absolute than ever. By and by there came a message stating that the Prince was ill, and directing that offerings be made for his recovery. Then came news that he was already on his way, and had sent orders for a hundred elephants to meet him at the landing station below the rapids. Some surmised that his illness was feigned in order to escape the lawsuits which were pressing him. Some time after this we learned that he had reached the landing station, but was very seriously ill. It was still more urgently enjoined that his relatives and the various monasteries in Chiengmai should "make merit" in his behalf, and should propitiate the demons by generous offerings.

About a fortnight later, while riding one evening through the streets of the city, some one called out to me, "The Prince is dead!" No news ever gave me such a shock. The anxious fears of his return that had haunted us all dissolved into tender sympathy, now that he was gone. We forgot his treachery and cruelty, and thought only of his interesting human qualities. He was a tender father. He could be a warm, though a fickle and an inconstant friend. In many respects he was a good ruler. And now that voice that had made thousands tremble was silent in death.

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But it would be a hard heart that could follow unmoved that long, weary, homeward trip of the dying man, as I afterwards learned it from his attendants. He was so weak that he could not endure the jarring caused by the use of the setting-poles to propel his boat. So his boat had to be taken in tow of another. When the last lingering hope of life died out, his one desire was to reach home —to die in his own palace. The trip through the rapids by boat he could not bear, and it was too slow for the dying man. Travel by elephant is both rough and slow. He is brought ashore, therefore, and is borne on a litter as swiftly as relays of men can carry him. Over the mountains and up the valley of the Mē Ping, under burning sun and through driving rain they hasten. At last, one evening they halt on the bank of the Mē Ping, with only its stream between them and his own realm. "What land is this?" he feebly asks. "Lampūn," is the answer. "Carry me across at once!" He is obeyed, but sinks exhausted by the fatigue and excitement. He passes a restless night. His mind wanders. He dreams of being at home; of worshiping in his own palace. The morning comes. He is still alive; but so weak that, in spite of his eagerness to hasten on, at every few paces his bearers must halt, while attendants fan him or administer a cordial. At last fan and cordials fail. The litter is set down under the two golden umbrellas that screen it from the burning rays of the sun. The little group stand with bowed heads and hushed hearts, while the spirit takes its flight. Almost, but not quite home! And with none of his immediate kin by him to see the end! The attendants cover the body with a cloth, and hasten on to the next station, only two or three miles below the city. The procession halted there at about the very time that the messenger reached Chiengmai with the news that he was dead.

Next morning I rode out to the encampment where the body of the Prince was lying. The family and officers and friends were assembled to look for the last time on that noted face. The last act before placing the body in

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the coffin was to cover it with gold leaf in order to give it the appearance of being a Buddha. But no goldleaf could disguise that face. The party remained there a few days for much needed rest, but chiefly to await a day of good augury for bringing the remains to the city.

The day was well chosen for such a pageant as the country had not seen—to honor alike the departed, and to welcome the succeeding ruler. There was a long and imposing procession of soldiers, priests, and people, marching to the wailing of the funeral dirge and to the slow, solemn beat of the drums. At the head of the line, on his elephant, was the son-in-law, soon to be Prince of Chiengmai. Not far behind came the body of the dead Prince, borne on a golden bier and accompanied by a large train of yellow-robed priests. Behind this was the vacant throne, and on it the royal crown, both testifying to the emptiness of human pomp and power. Then came one leading the horse his Highness used to ride; and next, his favorite elephant, its huge body covered with trappings of gold. After these came members of the Prince's family and other near relatives.

About 10 o'clock the procession approached the city that by inexorable custom may never open its gates to receive the dead—not even though the dead were he whose word for so many years had been its only law. What a commentary on human glory and on the tyranny of superstitious custom! On reaching the South Gate, the procession did not enter, but turning aside to the right, passed on outside the city wall to the East Gate. There in the Prince's summer garden beside the river, his remains lay in state until the great cremation ceremony a year later. Meantime a lamp was kept burning at the head and the foot, night and day. A prince was in constant attendance. Relays of priests chanted the Buddhist ritual for the dead. At intervals throughout the whole night the beat of the drum resounded through the air, reminding the city that there lay all that remained of one of its greatest masters.

A year was spent in preparations for the cremation.

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During the last three months of this time everything else in the whole land yielded place to it. Not only was there requisition of men and materials throughout the whole province of Chiengmai, but all the neighboring states furnished large levies of men under the personal direction of their own princes or officers of rank.

The dead Prince was born on a Sunday. Therefore every important event of his life must take place on that day, even to the last dread summons which is not under man's control—and beyond that to the final disposition of his mortal remains. Sunday was therefore the first day of the ceremonies. On that day the body was removed from the summer garden to the Mēn, or splendid pavilion, where it was to lie in state to receive the homage of his relatives and subjects until the following Sunday, when it was to be committed to the flames. The morning of each day was devoted to "merit-making" of various kinds —feeding the priests, making offerings to them, and listening to the reading of the sacred books. The afternoons were largely spent in boxing, a favorite amusement among the Lāo people. The evenings were given up to gambling.

Everything went on according to program until Thursday morning, when the festivities were interrupted in most melodramatic fashion. The robber chieftain of whom we have already heard, taking advantage of the occasion, made one of his sudden forays to within so short a distance of Chiengmai that during the night he actually posted on the city gates an insolent manifesto to the effect that the assembled princes need not trouble themselves further with the cremation of their dead lord. He and his band would attend to that. The news produced a tremendous panic. The whole business of the cremation was incontinently stopped. An armed force was sent out after the marauder, with the usual result that long before they could reach him he was safe within his stronghold in the mountains. By the end of the week the panic had subsided sufficiently to permit the resumption of the ceremonies. On Sunday the cremation was carried out as originally planned.

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SOME PHASES OF UNIVERSITY EFFICIENCY*

ALEXIS F. LANGE

"Lest we forget," we do well now and then to remind ourselves—and others—that a university is not a formula of Pure Reason, nor a soulless mechanism, run perhaps for revenue only; but a social institution. As such it consists, in any given instance, of a living group of human adults and near-adults functioning together as a social organ. Its members, with their coöperative plans and practices, belong to a definite day and generation of a particular people, which through them especially expects to lead and be led, to safeguard its cultural identity, and more or less rationally to mold its own future. Only the dawn of the millennium can usher in a world university. Until then, whatever essential type-marks set off universities from other social agencies, each university is at least a national variant—if not a "sport"—and even as such need not be the twin of any other in order to function wisely and well. It follows, of course, that the directive ideas and ideals include those bearing particularly on the institutional as a phase of the national life. Ideally, an American university exemplifies American Democracy, not only in its dealings with the world's heritage of knowledge and human aspirations and in training young men and women for making a life and a living on the highest plane, but also, and chiefly, in constituting an educational environment most clearly and fully

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expressive of the faith in which the nation is built. Ideally, American academic citizenship conforms to the highest type of American citizenship in general. Ideally, the spirit of the university, university spirit, public spirit, patriotism, the spirit of socal service, are only different aspects of the same thing.

While obvious, the implications of this organic conception will bear emphasis. One is that a university, like an individual, grows efficient as it ceases to "muddle along." It must know itself and its place in the body politic. The institutional sense due to use and wont needs to develop into the institutional consciousness that springs from insight into the laws of social progress and from the endeavor to organize and realize a correspondent system or hierarchy of aims. Another implication is, of course, increasingly aimful self-direction, which will involve more or less radical modification of the institutional adaptations of means to ends that have come down from the past. And growing thus by self-directed outgrowing implies self-management. No university can be efficient in a state of tutelage. Its conduct must be determined from within. Efficiency covers both being and doing. It is this sort of self-direction and self-management that constitutes academic freedom.

Again, the university being a social organ, its attitude towards itself and the highest utilities of the nation cannot —from the viewpoint of efficient functioning—be that of either standpatter or revolutionist; but must be that of the practical evolutionist.

Lastly, just as according to Lowell a republic can be truly successful only if every citizen is in some measure a statesman and thinker, so a republic of letters cannot fully realize itself if university consciousness, if the self-directive force, if the evolutionary attitude, are attributes of only one man or of an oligarchy. The more efficaciously the whole system of university aims works in the mind and heart of each member of the university group, the more truly will the leaders be leaders and the sooner will the solution be

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found of the problem of keeping abreast with and in advance of the society of which the university forms a part. I say "in advance of" because no progress is possible if a university tries merely to satisfy a popular demand, instead of endeavoring to discover what is needed and then to persuade the older as well as the younger generation of contemporaries to want what they need. As compared with the schools below it, a university, it should be added, is in an exceptionally fortunate position to further that teamwork which is the ideal resultant of institutional consciousness, self-direction, and self-management, because the majority of its members are of age and can understand and attain to the attitude and conduct that square with university purposes, cultural, vocational, civic.

It is from this point of view and by the criteria immanent in the university as society's organ of leadership that efficiency must be tested. Outside standards are manifestly for the most part inapplicable. The main question always is: "Is this particular university self-directing its development efficiently?" To answer it the comparative method alone will not do. Piecemeal comparisons as to government, administration, teaching, research, student life, etc., are inadequate to safe generalizations unless made in conjunction with an all-around examination of all of these factors in their connection with the institution's own historical and social setting. One reason why it is at present rather absurd either to affirm or deny that American universities are efficient, is that complete critical reviews of this sort are as yet among the things hoped for but not seen. Most of the current criticism of university conditions is partial, or partisan, or impressionistic. Its value lies in promoting institutional introspection and constructive self-criticism.

In view of this situation the safer course plainly consists in indicating by the light of the foregoing conceptions a few next steps, some nearer and remoter goals of self-directed effort toward greater efficiency. In doing so I shall often

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refer to the university I know best, without losing sight, I hope, of the representative value of such references.

The first need, country-wide, is obviously to endeavor with might and main to clear up the present confusion of ideas concerning university and college aims. As long as this confusion lasts the university house will be divided against itself. Owing to a course of development too familiar to be rehearsed here, American universities, the state universities without exception, have become university-colleges. And the union of the two types of institution is thus far rather mechanical than organic. Moreover, the tendency is to subordinate the cultural or man-centered aim of the traditional college of liberal arts to the work-centered or professional aims of a German university. My conviction is that an organic union of purposes and types of organization can be effected and is being effected,—not, however, by relegating all professional training to the graduate school, nor by maintaining any other rigid line of demarcation. Practical, and theoretical considerations no less, favor a pretty thoroughgoing dovetailing. The vocational training which is only that can never be as fully efficient as one which allows ample opportunity for personal culture. It is not only too early specialization that defeats itself, but all specialization that absorbs the whole man. Wherever professional training begins—and this includes training for research—breadth of outlook, richness of ideas and sympathies, and an all-around appreciation of the forces of civilization, including the specialty, must not be sacrificed, if the nation is to have leaders. Hence the desirability of what may for short be called college courses, even in the curricula of all professional schools. On the other hand, college aims are onesidedly carried out unless the student realizes through actual training in the foundation disciplines of a profession what modern scholarship means to modern civilization. At the University of California such considerations as these have led to a reorganization in which the man-centered college aims are meant to

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be uppermost during the first two years. These two years are supposed to be sacred to the student's further enlargement of his outlook and to his endeavor to find himself. From there forward the *emphasis* is supposed to shift to progressively work-centered or professional pursuits. Beyond the bachelor's degree come the courses devoted largely to the mastery of professional applications and technique.

Practice does not, of course, always follow closely on the heels of policy. But when these organic adjustments are complete, the lines of articulation will be diagonal rather than horizontal. Professional training will appear not mechanically superimposed on either the middle line of the old-time college nor on that fixed by the bachelor's degree, but organically adjusted, as a new branch is grafted slantwise into the stem of a plant. The traditional bachelor's degree becomes thus not less but more significant as representative of modern liberal culture, as representative of the union of efficiency of being and efficiency of doing.

But a university will not improve its efficiency by reshaping and correlating anew merely its own structural parts in accordance with the organized purposes of a university-college. It functions at its best only if vitally adjusted to and correlated with the high school, indeed every other part of the state's educational system. Guided by this principle and its corollaries, the University of California has reshaped its entrance requirements with reference to the beginning of the junior year rather than the freshman year. While thus the University in the narrower sense rises from and out of the middle of the traditional four-year course and extends upward by organic transitions to the various professional termini, secondary education by equally organic transitions extends, at least is meant to extend, without a shifting of aims or emphasis or radical change of methods, to the same median points marked by what is known as the Junior Certificate. As a part of the same policy, the University has strenuously

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supported a professional standard of preparation for high school teaching, which in California calls at present for at least a year of graduate training. Furthermore, the University and the normal schools of the state have arrived at various methods of coöperation which are furthering, in increasingly effective ways, the solidarity and efficiency of the whole teaching body.

As an integral part of the same policy, the University has for more than a decade urged the upward extension of the four-year high schools, not only as a means of checking the hypertrophy of its lower classes but also as a method of extending the reach of secondary training. Many more than at present would be enabled to continue the formal educational process to the very close of adolescence. Fewer by far would have to be satisfied with a secondary course which not only begins too late but stops too early as well. More important still in its bearings upon efficiency is the fact that by making the additional two years not only a cultural connecting link with the upper division of the University but also and especially a final vocational opportunity, a bridge from school to life would be constructed for thousands that now either receive no vocational training or else are misdirected by way of the university into professions in which they will always be misfits. Not less than twenty-five per cent, I believe, of university students consist of those who should, and probably would, never have entered if a vocational school had been open to them, more advanced than that based on the grammar grades or perhaps on two years of high school preparation. We should thus assist, on the one hand, in making the school-system a better selective agency for efficient social service, and should, on the other hand, relieve the university of students intended for lifework just as noble but different from that for which a university prepares. Such reorganization, I would add with emphasis, does not involve the extinction now or in the future of the lower division of the university-college. It would mean simply smaller and pre-

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sumably better-selected freshmen and sophomore classes. It does involve, of course, standards of scholarship for such high school teaching equivalent to those maintained for college work.

These adjustments of aims, leading to a more perfect union of now frequently conflicting college and university purposes, and the structural adaptations necessitated thereby, raise the question of efficient instruction and scholarship. It seems clear that the present method of training and selecting the university staff must be modified. In my judgment no single factor would make more for efficiency than a functional differentiation of professors into college and university professors without discrimination against either class as to honor, emolument, or position. No minute analysis of the present situation is required to reveal how the current onesided emphasis on research and the training for research impairs the efficiency of the university. The newly made doctor of philosophy is usually the last person to be entrusted with the carrying out of college aims. In this respect our imitation of Germany has not gone far enough. In Germany the man-centered purposes of education remain from first to last in the hands of men of approved fitness. In the gymnasium it is the most experienced and the most successful teachers that have charge of the work corresponding to that of the freshman and sophomore years, while in the German university it is not usually the young *privat dozent* but the broadest and ripest master of his field who gives the lectures designed to orient the student on the basis of a coherent *Weltanschauung*. With us the same task devolves on young men presumably well qualified to lead broadly trained mature students up to and across the frontier of knowledge in fields in which these students are presumably seeking their self-realization as expert members of society. In other words, they are prepared to give vocational rather than college training. Their college work naturally often appears to them in the light of a dull and dreary but inevitable prelim-

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inary to a professorship. A very common result is that they become neither good teachers nor productive scholars. Clearly, if they are to become the latter, the way must be opened for them during the earlier years of their service. And this is not done by making productive scholarship incidental. On the other hand, freshman and sophomores do not get the guidance and the discipline to which they are entitled. They should have something more adequate to liberal culture aims. Nor can one escape the conviction that some method must be found whereby all candidates for a university career may be made thoroughly familiar with the history, problems, principles, methods, and present status of both secondary and university education. Their efficiency depends on whether or not they find themselves as college or university teachers and as university citizens with an intelligent grasp of the university organism as a whole and its relation to the larger social whole. From this point of view it must be admitted that our universities are not completely institutions in any organic sense. Often the tendency of evolution seems to be rather toward mechanical aggregates of mutually repellent particles.

It is often asserted, and as often indignantly denied, that university instruction is of poorer quality than that found in any other part of the school system. Both parties to the controversy, it happens, are right and both are wrong. If college teaching alone is considered, the charge cannot easily be refuted. If, on the other hand, the professional teaching of the university, the training for research included, is under examination, our universities will bear comparison even with the methods and results of German universities and with good teaching anywhere.

Closely connected with this matter of getting the best men for what each can do best is the problem of adequate working conditions. The central functions of the university demand the utmost economy of the time and energy of the teaching staff. Here more than one of the suggestions prescribed by business doctors may well be adopted. An

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increase, for example, in the staff of experts in routine administration. The staunchest upholder of faculty autonomy cannot reasonably object to methods meant to conserve the university teacher's energies in order that these may be concentrated on teaching and research. It is however equally desirable to realize that the legislative and judicial functions of a university by which the educational policy is determined and its execution assured and tested will not be exercised in a vital way unless each faculty member is given or finds his opportunity for service as an academic citizen. Without this he is not likely to be a good citizen. Only by active participation in directing the evolution of the university can there be created what may be called intelligent university opinion. Only in this way can there come that institutional consciousness, that self-direction and self-management, which will keep the university an efficient social organ. The more closely this ideal is approached the less occasion will there be to fear university despotism or, what is worse, faculty oligarchies, and the more easily will that sort of social coöperation be reached which is perhaps best symbolized by the teamwork of a football team. The team is a unit. Each member of it understands the game as a whole. Each functions in his position—his specialty—as a part of the whole. Each contributes intelligently and loyally to the success of the whole. All follow the captain and submit to his decision because they want to win the game. This is said with all due regard to the distance between a university sheepskin and a university pigskin.

But if the university is to become an organic whole, clear-eyed as to its aims and sure-footed as to their execution, the student-body must participate as fully as possible in the self-direction of institutional policies and life. The so-called student activities constitute a large part of the educational curriculum. They cannot and should not be eliminated. They should and can be brought into harmony with the central purposes of the university. What lends

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emphasis to this view is the newness of the university-college and its confusing transitional status. The students who underwent a college course fifty years ago could not escape the acquiring of the institutional sense. At present no two graduates need carry away coincident notions of their *alma mater*. Obviously such alumni are not in a position to assist intelligently in the preservation and further development of an institution that they know at best only in one of its multitudinous aspects. Sentimental loyalty, however intense and voluble, must always be inferior by many degrees to a rationalized loyalty rooted in a comprehensive view of the university as one coöperative body of professors and students. The university needs to interpret itself to the student, deliberately and planfully. Among the courses offered should always be one which would introduce the student to his *alma mater,* which would trace the development of his university, make clear its complex nature, explain what the president and the faculty are trying to do, reveal the relations of college to university aims and methods, and the functions of the whole institution as an organ of the commonwealth, and would bring home to the student his social responsibility. If this were done in the same spirit of sympathetic inquiry and criticism as that which is supposed to be characteristic of university teaching, such a course would tend to produce more helpful because more intelligent alumni. It would assist the student in finding himself. It would make for better citizenship within and outside the university.

In corroboration I might cite the form of student self-government developed during the past decade at the University of California. Although perhaps not very consciously due to such university policies and institutional embodiments as I have discussed, their shaping influences are nevertheless unmistakable. The obvious success of what has come to be known as senior control is explicable only by a growing university consciousness. Its sanction is not derived from a written constitution but from a public

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opinion in accord with an intelligent conception of university development. Among the gratifying results two deserve special mention. One is that it has not been found necessary for the faculty and the president to deal in any but a formal way with cases of discipline, during the past three years. The other is that the student-body is itself endeavoring to subordinate "student activities" to the central purposes of the University and to avail itself of these things not as by-products or sideshows—which indeed they are not in the larger view—but as legitimate, wholesomely socializing agencies.

The universities must plan for the future. Only by doing so can they justify their claim to efficient leadership. To do so effectively they must provide for social needs as soon as they can be provided for by organized courses of training. I would lay it down as a principle of efficiency that collectively and through a sensible division of labor the universities must care for and should pioneer for all vocations that are arising or may be raised to the rank of a profession. The carrying out of this principle would seem to call at the present day, for example, for new departments or subdepartments of public health, of public and business administration, of domestic science in as far as this stands for or can be made to stand for professions for women, and of education, as far as the teaching of applied science is concerned, in order that in this field too there may be leaders just as broad and scholarly and as expert as those in the older fields—ought to be. But what we need for such purposes is not a further vocationalization of undergraduate courses, but professional projections beyond the bachelor's degree. For it must be insisted that university efficiency depends, in a large measure, on the number of young men and women who can and are willing to give sufficient time to the general as well as the professional preparation. Propaedeutic courses, however, I repeat, may well come in, in fact must come in, before the traditional graduation, as an essential aid to that potential efficiency

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which can legitimately be demanded of the holder of the bachelor's degree. The university, no more than the secondary school, can increase its efficiency by becoming a trade school or by arresting the development of wholeness of manhood and womanhood.

This skeleton review has made it plain, I hope, that my conclusions are of an optimistic nature. All things considered, our American universities are more efficient than any other social institutions of the land. Their pains are for the most part growing-pains. They are steadily approaching that state which I have described as conscious, self-directed, self-managed; they are year by year worthier organs of leadership for the nation.

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THE REVOLUTION IN MEXICO*

DAVID P. BARROWS

Since the outbreak of the revolution against the rule of President Diaz, I have been in Mexico three times. My first visit extended as far as Mexico City, Puebla, Cuernavaca, and Guanajuato, and was undertaken in the months of December and January, when the last phase of the long Diaz regime of thirty-three years was being enacted. Two months before, on October 5th, Francisco I. Madero, after release from prison where he had been placed for opposing the candidacy of President Diaz, had launched his "Plan Revolucionario" at San Luis Potosí, and a few days later, as a refugee in the United States, his "Manifesto to the American People." Within the month following, the hardy men of Northern Mexico had taken up arms and fighting was general in Western Chihuahua. On the night run south from El Paso, there were insurgents in the railway station of Moctezuma shortly before our train passed through. Another party the same night seized a train on the Mexican Northwestern, loaded on the cars pack-mules with cargoes of ammunition, ran south to the end of the line, and then started through the hills to support the insurgent forces which had surrounded the command of General Navarro in Pedernales. As we drew slowly through Chihuahua at dawn long trains from Mexico City were pulling on to

* Delivered at the University Meeting in Harmon Gymnasium, October 13, 1911.

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the sidetracks filled with soldiers and artillery sent up from the Capital.

The government of Mexico professed assurance, but had nevertheless taken extraordinary precautions. With the consent of the "Permanent Deputation" of Congress, which consists of fourteen senators and fifteen deputies and sits in the recesses between the two sessions, President Diaz had "suspended the constitutional guarantees" and was taking such measures as are usual under martial law. Numbers of agitators and suspected persons had been imprisoned, and a severe censorship had been imposed upon the press. A few months earlier, among the usual, conservative periodicals of Mexico City, there had been a number of a radical character, among them such papers as *México Nuevo* and *Diario del Hogar*. These had all been suppressed, their offices closed, and a number of their writers were reported as being in prison. Sanchez Azcona, the former editor of *México Nuevo,* was with Madero, an exile in the northern republic. The federal troops which are usually garrisoned in all the important towns were much in evidence and frequently moving, and companies of the "Rurales" guarded every station and inspected every arriving and departing train. But the spread of disaffection and evidence of deep and sullen discontent showed itself more plainly every day. Thoughtful men of all races in the capital appreciated the fact that the harsh and repressive measures which had kept the government of Diaz in power for many years would no longer avail. The advantages of order and the benefits of economic prosperity no longer balanced the severity of military despotism, the harshness with which labor troubles had been handled, and the denial of public meeting and political criticism.

There is a new class in Mexico to-day: the industrial workers developed by the country's economic advance. They are the men who fill the railway shops, the modern mines, the factories, and the freight wharves. They have

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been trained and molded by efficient economic direction. They have gained a sense of solidarity and their intelligence has been immensely quickened by their employment, their association with modern employers, and their intercourse with one another. They are intensely Mexican in spirit, affect the national costume of tight breeches and enormous sombrero, and constitute a class whose social and political freedom can not longer be withheld.

It was upon a public grown conscious both of its deprivation of political rights and of the government's indifference to social needs that there fell two years ago the extraordinary essay of Francisco Madero entitled "The Presidential Succession of 1910."[1] This book has made its author president of the Mexican republic. It is a detailed analysis of the bane of military dictatorship in Mexico, and an appeal for the restoration to the Mexican people of those rights and privileges guaranteed by the Constitution of 1857. It must be ranked hereafter as one of the few books which have overturned governments and brought apparently unassailable rulers to the ground.

In spite of the general feeling of hostility toward Diaz, the disgust with his severity and with his persistence in holding the presidency against the popular will, there still rose memories of his career as a soldier and a patriot. Those who bitterly criticized him yet spoke their confidence in his honesty, and all men testified to his quality of courage. I retain one striking impression of him at this time of discontent and revolution. Late one night while driving with friends out the splendid silent avenue called the Paseo de la Reforma, which leads from the city to Chapultepec, there came up behind a swift limousine, and in the back of the car, without guard, plain-clothes man, or even an aide, sat the President as silent and impassive as any of the race of Zapotec Indians from which he has sprung. So, as

[1] The third edition of this book, *La Succession Presidencial de 1910*, was published this summer in Mexico by the press of Bouret. An English translation is now appearing in the Sunday edition of the *Mexican Herald*.

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always and to the end of his power, Porfirio Diaz came and went as he willed.

During a day at Guanajuato, I rode out across the steep hills under which lie the most famous mines of Mexico. From one of them, La Valenciana, there were taken in Spanish times nearly nine hundred million dollars worth of ore; Von Humboldt a hundred years ago pronounced it the richest mine in the world. My companion was a public *cargador,* one of those sturdy, bare-footed, illiterate men who do the heavy burden-bearing of Spanish America. On the other side of the hills we came upon one of the great engineering works of Mexico, a mighty wall of masonry thrown across a deep valley to impound a lake. It was the work of a Mexican army engineer twenty years ago. When I asked my companion how it had been built he broke out in bitter words, saying it had been built by prisoners, to secure whom the whole country had been drawn upon. They had been treated with indignity and inhumanity, and their bones lined the valley at the foot of the dam. Two decades of splendid service from this body of refreshing waters had not cooled the man's resentment at the severity by which it had been accomplished. He spoke as a desperate fellaheen might have spoken in the days of the pyramid builders. When I asked him about the character of the governor of Guanajuato, one of the trusted officials of Diaz, who like the president had held his political office for many years, I received the doubtful reply: "He may be good, and he may be bad; but anyway he is old and will not molest us much longer." "What sort of a man is your 'jefe politico'?" "The 'jefe politico,'" he cried, "is a fellow with a great big beard, and he is very hard. If you take three little cups he will put you in the calaboose, and if you get drunk three times he sends you into the army." It was such widespread and general disaffection as this, rather than any decisive victories of the revolutionary forces, which forced President Diaz to resign on the 25th of last May.

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I was in Ciudad Juarez a few days after that town was captured by the insurgent troops of Orozco and Blanco. The place showed the effects of the three days' severe fighting. The federal post-office was a ruin; the facade of the church, the great barracks where the regiment of Navarro made their last stand, and scores of adobe walls were pitted with innumerable rifle balls. The hospital was crowded with the wounded, and on the hill outside the town was an infectious hospital full of men smitten with the terrible typhus of Mexico. Beyond were rude trenches and breastworks of adobe bricks, and lines of graves so shallow that the forms of the bodies were outlined beneath their palls of earth. The streets were filled with several thousands of irregular soldiers, each man with two or three full cartridge belts over his shoulders, all well armed with rifles and revolvers and occasionally with sabers. Some of these men had Indian blood in their veins, but the majority were white or nearly so,—the big, hard-riding men of northern Mexico. I spent the whole day mingling with them and visiting the *cuarteles* of the different bands. They were orderly, good natured, and naturally exultant. Most of those with whom I talked were intelligent, sure of what they wanted, but moderate in their desires and anxious to have the revolution succeed that they might return to their families and homes. They were simple ranchers and *vaqueros,* but they had spent five months in the field, and most of them had had part in a dozen hard fights in western Chihuahua. Among them was a small camp of Tarahumari Indians from the Sierra Nevada. They still had their original armament of bows and arrows, but in the distribution of arms following the capture of Juarez had acquired Winchester rifles of the old model of 1873. One of them spoke a little Spanish, and in reply to my inquiry as to what had been their casualties said that thanks to God they had had none! They appeared to have "followed the battle from afar."

About four o'clock all the different commands, perhaps

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three or four thousand men, were marched to the great monument of Benito Juarez and formed by companies. After a wait of some minutes a force of mounted men rode up headed by Madero. With him were the different leaders: the two Orozco brothers, Pascual and Juan, tall, splendid looking men; Villar, the "ex-bandit" who made so much trouble because he could not execute General Navarro; and Colonel Blanco, a big, burly man, who had led his men stubbornly in the severe engagements of Mal Paso, Cerro Prieto, and Guerrero. Mounting the pedestal of the statue, Madero made a last harangue to his followers. He seemed anxious and nervous; but he spoke well, and received ardent applause. He told his men that after six months of hardship and fighting they had won; their cause was assured, and he himself was about to leave them to go to Mexico to conclude peace and assure the revolution. He was convinced that he could go without peril, but meanwhile they were to remain under arms. He felicitated them on their heroism; on the liberty they had gained for themselves and their children; and on the fact that their sons would not have to look with fear upon the face of the official.

The next day most of the revolutionary forces started southward, and within a few days Francisco Madero, who six months before had been a proscribed refugee, was starting for the City of Mexico to oversee the transfer of the government from Diaz to the provisional president, De la Barra.

In July I came from Havana to Yucatan, and from there proceeded to Vera Cruz and the City of Mexico. Two months had passed since the resignation and departure of General Diaz and the triumphal entry of Madero. The country meanwhile had been passing through an undoubtedly great crisis. In his Revolutionary Plan, when he launched the insurrection, Madero had announced that on the triumph of the revolution he would, after the manner of past military revolutionists, proclaim himself "provis-

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ional president," and call an early election in which he would submit himself to the decision of the nation. He pledged himself and his followers to an "effective suffrage" or fair election. But by the terms of the "Peace agreement" signed at Juarez on May 21, Madero and his followers agreed to the appointment of Francisco Leon de la Barra, the Minister of Foreign Relations, as provisional president, the formation of a cabinet including several revolutionists, and the selection of a certain number of "Maderistas" as provisional governors of the Mexican states.

It cannot be denied that this made the situation immensely difficult. Madero though holding no public office was still regarded as the one responsible for order on the one hand and the realization of the aims of the revolution on the other. Many of the revolutionary leaders were impatient for the rewards which fall to the successful, and this compromise arrangement left them unsatisfied. A multitude of armed bands in nearly all the states had sprung into existence and few of them, like the men of Chihuahua, had had the tempering discipline of punishment in battle. They were aggressive, exultant, and full of hatred for the Federal troops. The Federals and Rurales on the other hand were largely unwhipped, disdainful of the revolution and their officers, willing to try the further hazard of combat. It was a situation such as this, with a hold-over governor in office, that occasioned the lamentable battle in the streets of Puebla where perhaps a hundred men lost their lives.

The disbanding of the Maderistas has been difficult to accomplish. A lawless leader in Morelos, Emiliano Zapata, refused to obey the orders to disband, and government troops had to be sent against him. At last reports he is still uncaptured, and in the mountains. Toward the end of July, another fiery spirit, Cleopas Mata, organized a band of about a hundred in the State of Jalisco and defied the government of the state. He was pursued by a force

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of Rurales and State Gendarmes, and, in a stiff hand-to-hand fight near Lake Chapala, was mortally wounded and captured. Less alarming lawlessness occurred in other parts of Mexico, and the severity of the old police of the Diaz regime was relaxed; but for a country so large and varied, with passions aroused by civil war, the comparative peace and good order during the months just past have been surprising, and speak much for the good sense and self-control of the present generation of Mexicans. Passing through the length of the country in July and August, conditions impressed me as being nearly normal. There was little diminution in the number of foreigners, who were traveling where they pleased. I met one excursion of American home-seekers, filling three Pullmans, who had been down to Coatzacoalcos on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, to look at a colony project, and they reported nothing but cordial treatment. Maderistas, ununiformed except for cartridge belts, guarded the trains and country places, instead of the old-time Rurales, while in the towns the police was in the hands of state gendarmes; but the behavior and effectiveness of these somewhat raw troops seemed to be satisfactory. Much of the credit for this fortunate course of affairs belongs to Madero. By loyally aiding de la Barra with support and counsel, by almost daily printed messages to his followers and tireless activity in rebuking the restive and curbing the impatient, he has carried the country through the dangerous summer situation. His daily reliance upon the press for the dissemination of his views has been most interesting, but must have been a great literary burden, while his correspondence, as I was informed by General Viljoen, has amounted to two hundred letters a day.

While I found the country orderly it was seething with political excitement. A swarm of newspapers had sprung into existence, not only at the Capital, but in Yucatan, in Vera Cruz, and even in such remote capitals as San Luis Potosí, Aguascalientes, and Chihuahua. In Mexico a new

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periodical, devoted to the politics of the moment, appeared nearly every week. In addition to the old conservative dailies like *El Diario, El Pais,* and *Imparcial,* there had appeared *El Demócrata, La Patria, La Mañana,* and many more. The cries of the little newsboys began at dawn and lasted far into the night. On August 1 appeared a new journal, *Nueva Era,* the organ of Madero, edited by Sanchez Azcona. There are also a number of illustrated comic publications with cartoons varying from frank political criticism to indecency. Among these are *Frivolidades, Rigoletto, El Hijo del Ahuizote.* Most of these appear to be hostile to Madero and to the revolution. A greater contrast in the freedom of press than that existing in Mexico City in January and in July can hardly be imagined. The "lid" is now off in Mexico, and for freedom and license of statement the Mexican journals probably equal anything of the kind in the world.

The alignment of parties in Mexico is somewhat difficult to understand, and they now sink somewhat in significance by reason of the thorough-going triumph of Madero in the elections of October first. Nevertheless, the party groups and leaders which the resignation of Diaz brought into the field will undoubtedly continue to be permanent elements in the future politics of the country, and for this reason deserve attention.

Beginning with one of the older groups, we have the sympathizers with the Diaz regime who go by the name of *Científicos,* a designation which I have not seen satisfactorily explained. This group embraces a number of men of much influence, and most of the men who have had actual administrative experience, for the Diaz government restricted to loyal adherents practically all offices, state as well as national. The group, however, has not been outwardly active, nor has it, or any party, ventured to go openly before the country with a platform calling for a return to the old conditions or a restoration of the ex-president.

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Another old party which has had to remain openly inactive since the days of Benito Juarez is that representing the extreme conservative feeling and ecclesiastical interests. From the founding of the republic in 1823 down to the "Wars of the Reform" (1855–1867) it was the strongest faction in Mexico. It successfully opposed the liberal tendencies of the thirties; it backed Santa Ana through all that wretched adventurer's blighting career; and it was only defeated by the inflexible radicalism of Juarez. Since the passage of the Laws of Reform which separated church and state, it has not been able to dictate any policy to the Mexican government. Diaz himself represented somewhat the anti-clerical spirit of Mexico, though his rigor was supposedly softened by the religious sympathies of his present wife, Doña Carmelita Romero. Early in the summer the re-entry into the political arena of this element was announced under the name of *El Partido Conservador*. Though it had the support of families of influence and such able papers as *El Pais* and *El Diario*, the temper of Mexico to-day is too radical and too little submissive to clerical influence for this party to have gained much power. By the middle of the summer it ceased to command attention, and it finally ended by endorsing Madero for President and de la Barra for the vice-presidency.

The revolution swept into its ranks men of such varied dispositions and standing that it was inevitable that differences would appear among them. The conservative and moderate wing is represented by Madero himself, who has loyally supported de la Barra and defended to his radical followers the provisional president's actions. Some of these have undoubtedly been hard to justify to men who have risked lives and property in the quick, hard fighting that filled Mexico during the first months of this year. Many of these men feel only a thorough-going hostility to the surviving elements of the Diaz administration. They are not in a position to appreciate its efficiency, its need even in this hour of change, and they would gladly see swept

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from office all the old leaders and employees. The policy of conservative adjustment, and of compromise with the conservative elements, does not appeal to these radicals and they have been hardly kept in line in support of Madero. The difficulty in the ranks of the revolutionists culminated about the first of July. Several events drew matters to a head. One of the most brilliant of the radical element is a young attorney, Jose Vasconcelos. He was the organizer of one of the most sensational plots for the overthrow of Diaz, was forced to flee from Mexico, and is one of the promising younger men of Mexico whom the change of administration has admitted to public life. In July he published a series of articles savagely attacking the course which the revolution was taking, and insisting that its original objects should not be sacrificed. The articles were widely copied and commented on. They were followed by several others of a similar radical character,[2] and a more distrustful and impatient tone was observable in the papers of the capital. Then de la Barra appointed to the head of the Guardias Rurales, the force which polices the Republic and into which the Madero forces are to be incorporated, not a revolutionary officer, but one of the old Federal army, General Villaseñor. In defense of this action Madero has urged that there is not among the guerrilla chiefs of the revolution one with the necessary administrative and military experience to undertake the difficult task of reorganizing this exceedingly important branch of the armed forces of the nation. A still more ominous action of the Provisional President occurred, however, as the month drew to a close. Don Emilio Vasquez Gomez, the interim Minister of Gobernacion, the department which controls the public police of the nation and conducts the relations of the federal government with the States, was forced from the Cabinet. The causes of this change need not be discussed here.

[2] Among other articles published in the Mexican press were *Los mas grandes errores de la Revolucion*, by A. C. Serdan, and *La Revolucion dentro del Gobierno*, by "Lic. Blas Urrea" (Luis Cabrera).

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Sufficient to say that the differences between De la Barra and Vasquez Gomez represent the differences between the conservative and radical wings of the revolution. The morning following the announcement of this Cabinet change saw an outburst of wrath from the organs of revolution. *El Demócrata* printed a leader on "The Treason of Madero," and announced the candidacy for presidential offices of Francisco Vasquez Gomez and Jesus Flores Magon. It announced the departure for Tehuacan of a commission representing the "Exercito Libertador y El Centro Antireeleccionista" to interrogate Madero as to where he stood. "To-day," it announced, "we will know whether Madero is faithful to those who have supported him always hitherto. If he is with us, then we are still with him." *La Patria* expressed the summit of suspicions. Under the title of "Colosal Mistificacion" it announced the discovery that Madero was in league with the forces of clericalism and plotting to erect a theocracy, and that the Cientificos meanwhile were spreading discord in order to induce the intervention.

It is through such troubled waters as these that Madero has had to steer his party and his country since the first of last July. While commanding the regard and support of all parts of Mexico, he has failed to keep united the ranks of the revolutionists. The disagreement in July between de la Barra and Madero on the one hand and the radical revolutionists on the other has not been repaired. Dr. Francisco Vasquez Gomez had been the prospective vice-presidential candidate with Madero. He represented the Revolution at Washington last spring and with Madero signed the "Peace Treaty" at Juarez. But personal feeling seems to have driven the two men hopelessly apart. At the convention of the Progressive Constitutional Party, held August 30 and 31, Madero succeeded in excluding Vasquez Gomez and securing the nomination of Pino Suarez for vice-president. With a considerable following and as the candidate of the "Pure Liberal Party," however, Vas-

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quez Gomez has made the campaign for the position of vice-president against the opposition of Madero. At the date of this writing, while the election of Madero is overwhelming, that of the vice-president is still uncertain. In recent articles and platform addresses Madero has pled with the electorate to give him a presidential companion at once loyal to him and in sympathy with his aims. If this is not done, his difficulties as president will undoubtedly be increased.

In the more conservative of his countrymen who accept the end of the Diaz regime and yet are unwilling to submit to Madero's leadership the new president will find a constant and formidable body of opponents. This opposition is best represented by the *Partido Popular Evolucionista,* whose organizer is Jorge Vera Estañol, a lawyer with influential connections and many friends among the Americans of Mexico City. He served as Secretary of Public Instruction during the last days of President Diaz's rule.[3]

By general agreement the most interesting rival of Madero is General Bernardo Reyes. His campaign collapsed in the face of strongly manifested unpopularity, and on September 28th he left Mexico for Havana; yet next to Diaz he has been for many years the most talked of man in Mexico, and his supporters, hereafter to be known as the Republican Party, announce their intention of maintaining their organization. When Diaz resigned, Reyes was in Havana, detained by the insistence of the Revolutionists that he should not enter the country until the revolution had triumphed. After Madero arrived in Mexico, he sent word to Reyes that Mexico was now a free country and to come on. Reyes did so, and he and Madero reached an agreement that Reyes was to support Madero and accept the Portfolio of War in the future cabinet. During July, however, a number of disaffected elements,

[3] The aims of this group are set forth in a pamphlet by its leader, *Partido Popular Evolucionista, Programa y Bases de Organisacion,* Mexico, June, 1911.

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including the military, gathered around Reyes and persuaded him to seek release from his agreement and run against Madero.

On the evening of August 1, I took the night train from Mexico City for Tehuacan, hoping to have the opportunity of meeting Madero and learning his views upon the kaleidoscopic situation. I should hardly have ventured at that time, however, if I had known that earlier in the day General Reyes and a party had preceded me to Tehuacan with the object of dissolving the agreement with Madero.

It was a perfect summer day in the finest of the Mexican highland when I drove from the hotel of the Hot Springs at Tehuacan to the Hacienda de San Lorenzo, to which Madero had "retired." A line of fractious mules was swinging around and around a threshing floor; a great two-wheeled bull-cart rolled clumsily in from the field; away to the right rose the steeples of the town, and over all hung the incomparable Mexican sky. As I entered the grove of trees that shades the hacienda and drove up before the long residence building, there was evidence of much doing within. A line of saddled horses stood under the shade trees along the *zanja,* the driveway was full of armed men of the revolutionary army, and a guard under an officer manned the entrance. Suddenly the doors flew open and there came out Reyes and Madero, followed by parties of their respective friends. The two opposing candidates are very different types of men. The former is tall, handsome, and soldierly; his hair, mustache, and chin beard are quite gray; he has the ease and dignity that go with impressive bearing and physique. Madero, on the contrary, is short, unimpressive in appearance, informal in dress, excessively nervous in movement and in speech, and is still a very young man. There was a great rattling of arms and mounting into saddles as the escort closed around the carriages carrying the party off to the town and railway station. Later in the day I had a conversation with Madero. He expressed his satisfaction with the course

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events were taking, his gratification at the manner in which several elections of state governors had taken place, his belief that the federal principle would be greatly strengthened by the revolution, that the *jefes politicos* who have directed the local government of the country should be displaced, and that education should be extended by the national government through the establishment of schools after the plan of the French *lycées*. Rather interestingly he expressed a personal preference to see the Constitution so modified as to introduce the French system of ministries responsible to the legislature, with a president after the type of the French Republic.[4] During all our conversation his anxiety and nervousness were uppermost. Only once did his face relax into a smile, and that was as he recalled being a student at the University of California.[5]

The task before the Mexican nation is without doubt immensely difficult. Small wonder that those who for so many years have trusted in the absolute power and word of a dictatorship should view this popular uprising with misgivings; yet the day had to come when an effort should be made to realize the republican government which the nation formally adopted more than a half-century ago and has never yet experienced. Those best qualified to judge of Mexican affairs believe that the change has not come too soon. The first step in realizing republican institutions,—a

[4] Recently Madero has advocated this constitutional change in a public address, and in September Deputy Uruchurtu introduced a bill into the Chamber of Deputies providing for constitutional amendments establishing the parliamentary system of government. The bill was referred after second reading to the Committee on Constitutional Matters. If it should become a law we should have the interesting example of the adoption by Mexico of a form of executive the advantages of which have been frequently considered in this country, notably in Woodrow Wilson's *Congressional Government*.

[5] The records in the Recorder's office show that Francisco Ignacio Madero matriculated in the University of California as a special student in agriculture on November 29, 1892. He was then 18 years and 10 months of age, and had been a student at Paris in the École des Hautes Études Commerciales. His brother, Gustavo Adolfo Madero, matriculated at the same time. He had previously studied at Santa Clara College, California. Both young men remained until the end of the academic year 1892–93.

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free and untrammeled election, "Effective Suffrage," as the Mexicans call it,—seems to have been secured both in the national election of October 1 and in the repeated state elections that have taken place during the past summer. I was present at the election of the State Governor of Aguascalientes in August, when, under a system of voting modeled after that of the French communes, prescribed by an act of the State Legislature in 1871 but probably never realized in the forty years that the law had been on the statute book, "Effective Suffrage" appeared to be fully realized.

The next great political effort would seem to be to revive the dignity and independence of the legislative branch of government, the National Congress, and the small, feeble, single-chamber congresses of the different Mexican states. Legislatures in all governments are the real tests of democratic institutions, and where they succeed, Democracy succeeds.

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THE FINAL AIM OF MODERN FOREIGN LANGUAGE STUDY IN SECONDARY EDUCATION*

J. HENRY SENGER

The introduction of German as an integral part of the culture curriculum of secondary schools may be considered to have begun with the movement to raise the secondary schools to academies not necessarily contiguous to universities and not preparing for the different courses of higher institutions. The gradual neglect of the study of Greek, against which even the best teachers found themselves powerless, made it necessary to employ the modern languages for more than the utilitarian object that had led to their introduction in our schools.

It is difficult to generalize the cultural effect of the study of languages upon the mass of our students; it is more to the point to state its effects upon individuals and to examine how far such effects are applicable to the majority of scholars whom we subject to the preparatory discipline of the study of a language for the sake of culture of thought and development of character.

I began the study of Latin in the fifth grade of a grammar school with a seven-year course when I was ten years old. No attempt was made to impress me with the beauty of the language and the importance of its literature. We were drilled in the declensions and conjugations as we

*Read before the Section of Modern Languages of the National Education Association, San Francisco, July 12, 1911.

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drill our scholars in spelling; the rules of gender were memorized in rhymes as amusing as Mother Goose's wonderfully true stories; the study of the vocabulary began with a number of the most frequently employed words of ordinary, not necessarily classical, Latin. The vocabulary was systematically enlarged during the first three years of the study of the language. There was no rushing into Caesar with six months' preparation; the readers began with detached sentences, short morals, and quaint statements from the realms of history, ancient and mediaeval, of geography and manners, impressing the mind of the child with a wealth of facts never to be forgotten. At the high school the first works studied were the Lives of Cornelius Nepos and the Fables of Phaedrus; the latter were learned by heart and recited in their entirety. After that we read selections from Caesar's Commentaries (not the first four books of the Gallic War and considerably less in extent than they), as well as selections from Ovid's Metamorphoses, of which also large passages were memorized. The study was continued with Cicero, Virgil, Livy, Sallust, Tacitus, and Horace. I may also mention that during the first three years there was as much translation into Latin as from Latin; and later on there was a well-graded and interesting course of Latin composition which led finally to the translation of contemporary newspaper articles, something of particular interest to all of us.

A year after I had begun the study of Latin, the study of French began. The elementary part of the study did not differ very much from that of the former language. We were drilled in the so-called irregular verbs, I might say, with a sportsmanlike emulation, so that there was no doubt of the principal parts of *acquérir* and *s'asseoir*. As we brought a considerable vocabulary to our first French author, Voltaire, his *Charles XII* was really interesting to us.

The next year Greek was begun in the same manner as Latin, made easier than Latin by the acquaintance with the

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latter's mechanism. Xenophon's Anabasis was reached only after a year and a half of elementary study, and Homer six months after that. Our first home lesson in Homer consisted of the first hundred lines of the third book of the Odyssey, a task which we did not consider excessive, notwithstanding the fact that we had no previous acquaintance with Homer's dialect. Our teacher actually succeeded in having those hundred lines read aloud and translated in the course of one recitation hour.

Let me add that grammatical questions came up in the course of our reading only when called for by an insufficient or faulty translation; the more intricate points of grammar presented themselves quite naturally in the well-graded courses of translation into the foreign idiom.

That I was at an early age impressed with the beauty of thoughts as expressed in the foreign languages, ancient and modern, I attribute in the main to three circumstances. First, the elements of the language had been taught at an age when the kaleidoscopic variety of forms was still amusing and every word seemed to cry out aloud "Look at me! What part of speech am I? Where in the many drawers of your memory do you have to look to find out the meaning of the tail I am dragging behind me?" Thus the translation from and into the new language before me appeared to be as interesting as putting together the parts of a dissected puzzle picture. Second, the choice language always insisted upon in the employment of the vernacular for a final translation. Third, we were bound to a constant and systematic memorizing of choice parts of our reading, which when recited, especially by a gifted teacher, seemed to give real life to the thought of the author through the ever varying shades of emphasis, which made colors appear where there had before been but a mere pen-and-ink sketch and allowed the mysterious over- and undertones of the sentence melody to have their silent effect on the ear of the astonished and pleased listener. Thus it was as much a matter of course that the grandest pieces of the

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different literatures should impress me after my mind had been prepared to submit to their influence as that the beauties of nature should resistlessly impress the minds of persons whose early surroundings have not stunted their receptivity to the point that they see in a waterfall nothing but a waste of electric power and in the Big Trees of California a ridiculous conservation of many millions of cubic feet of lumber desirable for the manufacture of lead pencils.

Far be it from me to deprecate the acquirement of the practical use of the principal modern languages taught in our schools; my contention is directed against the merely utilitarian view which appears to be dominating their teaching. Whatever we teach our scholars ought to become a matter of conscious objective consideration on their part. A merely oral method may be of immediate practical result, but its acquisition will neither last nor have any cultural effect upon the language power of the pupil. And that we ought to consider the most important aim of our teaching of foreign languages, viz., the solicitous cultivation of the best English through the deepened insight into the meaning of the words employed and the critical consideration of the melody and beauty of the translation finally obtained. A German waiter acquainted with three or more foreign languages has as a rule no conscious knowledge of his mother tongue and flounders pitifully when beyond the shallow depth covering an area of a few hundred words combined into simple declarative and interrogative sentences only occasionally varied by a complex temporal or conditional clause.

On the other hand, it has been an invariable experience not only of myself but also of my colleagues in a very large girl's high school during quite an extended period of service that scholars who at home were using languages other than English, mostly, however, either German or French, or both, had the greatest difficulties in obtaining passable marks in English, though proficient in all other

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branches of instruction. They had never been trained to objectivate their home language and subject it to a conscious use, which would have enabled them to observe that the difficulty to be overcome in English was not merely the employment of grammatically correct forms, but the proper regard for rhetorical expediency.

In one particular way I was able to remedy that shortcoming in the case of a boy in whose home faultless German was spoken. I began with him the study of Latin while he was still in the seventh grade. The success of this attempt subsequently led me to the conviction that the proper teaching of Latin at an early age as a language study and not as an introduction to a possible study of the classical writers would present to the youthful mind in their concrete forms logical functions which are not distinguished by form in English and can be discerned only through abstract reasoning. In fact, correct parsing and its ultimate object seem to be entirely beyond the comprehension of some scholars who reach the University without having been subjected to the discipline of systematic grammar through the presentation of concrete and differentiated forms conveying the varying aspects of person, number, tense, mood, and voice.

And thus, from a long experience in teaching and from an implicit belief that the preservation of our English language in her purity and the organic development of her increasing power ought always to affect the orientation of all our studies toward that goal, I venture to maintain:

1. That the teaching of the critical use of English in the large, generally too large, classes of our schools is materially improved by the study of a foreign language at an age when the study of the forms is still amusing. Thus, by a proper system, there may be obtained a lasting control of the grammatical forms necessary to assure facility in reading.

2. That to obtain sufficient ability to understand the foreign idiom in continued diction, and in order to develop a facility to speak it, a distinction should be made between

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the lessons of practical exercises to be carried on exclusively in that language and the lessons for the study of formal grammar and of authors of firmly established literary value.

3. That unless the student is impressed with the particular genius of the nation whose language he studies, of the English—political, of the French—social, of the Italian —artistic, of the Spanish—chivalrous, of the German—scientific, we cannot hope to see that barbarism diminish that believes the foreigner to be inferior, his language ridiculous, his industry contemptible, his insistance upon outer forms of politeness the evident sign of the effeteness of the nation to which he belongs.

It will not be long before we shall be obliged to meet Germany's competition in an important part of the world's trade. In spite of an unfavorable geographical position and inferior natural wealth, she has forged to the head by dint of her people's orderly industry, by scientific methods, and last but not least by the reverent study of other people's manners, institutions, and languages. Let us educate our coming generation to do likewise, not merely for the sake of the material benefits to be obtained, but in order to develop in the souls entrusted to our care, through respect for others, a noble self-respect, making for order, law, and justice, which cannot fail to bring us nearer to peace on earth and good will toward men.

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SOME ASPECTS OF MODERN CIVIC DUTY*

THOMAS H. REED.

Much learning and ingenuity has been applied to defining the "state," with the net result that we may safely conclude that no inclusive definition of the term is possible. It means one thing to one set of men, another to another. For the purpose of this discussion it means simply society politically organized. It is more fundamental than government. Possessing a personality apart from its machinery and agents, it alone is permanent among changing forms. Give it a "local habitation and a name" and we have that *country* for which patriots die.

There are obviously two points of view from which the relation of the state, thus defined, and modern ethical ideals may be considered. We may consider them as they prescribe the obligation of the individual to politically organized society or that of politically organized society to its members. Such reciprocal relations have always existed. There is nothing essentially modern in the more fundamental aspect of these mutual duties. From the beginning the individual has owed obedience to the common will, and society some measure of fair dealing to the individual. It is in the new conceptions of obedience and justice that we find the effect of modern ethical ideals.

The one great duty that man owes to the state is obedience. In the most primitive forms of society of which

* Read before the Philosophical Union, April 7, 1911.

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we have record, long before the appearance of government in the ordinary sense of that term, there are certain acts which are generally recognized as inimical to the common good and others as essential to its preservation. The custom of the people forbids the one and enjoins the other. To break these simple folk-ways meant exclusion from the tribe within which there could be no place for one who imperilled its safety by disobedience of its collective judgment. We may leave the origins of these primitive customs for others to conjecture. It is enough for our purposes that they existed and were obeyed. Gradually it was found desirable to have some determination of their scope and some formal judgment when they were broken. Gathered about the council fire the clans listened to the solemn pronouncement of the "law-speaker" and rendered their verdict of guilt or innocence. Later generations have devised elaborate machinery for the authentic declaration of the law and its interpretation and enforcement, but the obligation of obedience has never abated. A multitude of commands are issued instead of a few, but to the whole category, from dying in battle to paying one's taxes, obedience is due.

Obedience is an especially imperative duty under the circumstances of modern society. Such a society, indeed, would be impossible without it. Man cannot live in that proximity to man which the conditions of our economic life have ordained without rules, well observed. Just as on the cinderpath we confine each sprinter to a tape-marked lane so that none may jostle another, we must have jostle-bars in life. They may be defined by statutes enforced by policemen; they may be the result of the simple concensus of society, depending for their sanction upon public opinion merely; or, as is commonly the case, they may be the product of both these methods. The process of enactment and enforcement has of itself no significance. It makes little difference whether you refrain from stealing for fear of jail, the cold looks of your neighbors, or the

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rigors of your own conscience. In any event you obey the social will. Even our friends the anarchists with their enchanting pictures of life without law unconsciously premise absolute obedience to the more fundamental customs of society. Obedience to law in its broadest sense is the basis on which society is built. Without it the mutual confidence which makes life among men tolerable could not exist. By virtue of it we lie down at night confident in the safety of our lives and possessions. Because of it we rise and go about our daily tasks in happy security. Without it we would go back to naked savagery and the endless task of defending a luckless existence. Without law there can be no confidence; without confidence no peace or security; without security no possessions; without possessions no civilization.

We must note that, whereas law may be defined by statute, law is not in reality made by statute. The vital principle of a law is the social will, and it is only when the statute records it accurately that the statute is in truth a law. Our processes of law-making are at best imperfect. Motives many and various swerve legislatures from the strict performance of their representative function. Deliberate and inadvertent error help to crowd the statute books with lawless enactments. It should excite no remark that such acts are disobeyed. They are our peculiar American disgrace. We frequently cry "Amen!" to those of our foreign critics who describe us as a lawless people. As a matter of fact we are not lawless; only perverse and insincere. We permit our legislators to enact statutes we either do not want at all or at least not sufficiently to trouble ourselves with their enforcement. Through positive dislike or passive indifference we permit their constant infraction. The worst consequence is that the fact of a difference between the legal standard and the real social will is a veritable Archimedean fulcrum of graft. For example, we place restrictions upon the sale of liquor in a community where public opinion is hostile to the restric-

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tions, and entrust their enforcement to a locally elected mayor. He will not suffer politically for a general policy of non-enforcement, while, at the same time, no fault can be found with him for performing the letter of his duty whenever he is so inclined. Here is his opportunity to threaten with impunity, "Pay up or shut up!" This is blackmail by law,—an American crime.

Just as in many small matters our so-called "law-makers" fall something short of the mark, so the whole form of government may fundamentally fail to express the real social will. Under normal conditions it is our duty to obey the behests of constituted authority even when they measurably depart from our standard of right. It is not reasonable to condemn a worthy institution because of its incidental failures. There come times, however, when the will of society and that of its usual agent come into conflict so violently that the individual must choose between them. At such a time the higher obligation attaches to substance rather than to form. The eighteenth century political philosophers called this duty to choose the better part "the right of revolution." We no longer accept their "compact" theory of government by which it became man's duty to resist the invasion of those fundamental rights which the original social contract had reserved to him. We arrive, however, at the same practical result by holding that the right to command obedience inheres not in any form of government but in the state as we have defined it. At every such fundamental crisis there is a right and a wrong side, and man makes choice between them at his peril. There is a Thomas Hutchinson and a Samuel Adams, a Jefferson Davis and an Abraham Lincoln for every attempted revolution. In the long run government must conform to the social will, itself the product of the economic conditions of the country. It may be accident or prescience, but some read the writing on the wall and become heroes. Others fail to read it and suffer the hard penalties of failure.

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Before entering upon the discussion of the nature of the obligation due from the state to its people, let us be clear as to the nature of the obligor. To use the legal phrase, every citizen in a democracy is severally liable upon the obligations of the state. We frequently speak of the duty of the citizen to participate with his whole heart and mind in the determination of public questions as a duty he owes to the state. It is in fact a duty that he owes because he is the state. It is a duty owed not to a cold abstraction but to his fellowmen. Too little emphasis is placed upon this obligation-side of citizenship. We hear a great deal about the sovereignty of the people, but it is the powers rather than the duties of sovereignty that are held prominently in mind. Every loud-mouthed fellow on the hustings crowds upon his hearers the fact of their power. The completeness of their control over government is made an issue at elections. There are few to remind them that power carries with it responsibility, in this case responsibility for the lives, health, morality, and happiness of a nation.

This failure of the popular sense of responsibility is by no means unaccountable. When Louis XIV cried out "L'état c'est moi," it was obvious that he assumed the obligations as well as the privileges of power. Since his time we have diffused sovereign power among the people without the state suffering the least diminution of its authority. Indeed, the state is stronger now than then and forms of government infinitely more secure on this broader basis than on the narrow support of personal power. Power is divisible. Separate it into millions of parts and they readily combine to make a whole. Its determinations thus reached are no less authentic than when they originate in the brain and purpose of a single man. Responsibility, on the other hand, is indivisible. Half a sense of responsibility is as good as worthless. Divide it by a million and no reassembling of parts will ever give you the whole again. Man must be wholly responsible or he

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will not be responsible at all. It should be an inspiration to that end that he is not responsible to a mere abstraction, but to living, moving, suffering humanity. If this is an age of philanthropy—and we see evidences of a growing love of man for man on every side—it would seem to be easy to carry the eagerness of that love into political life. It should be the most potent motive for intelligent and honest activity in performing the functions of the state. When by our vote a bad mayor steps into office we should be red with the shame of it. Of his every act of maladministration we should say, "We did it and we did it to our fellowmen!" This is our only hope of good government.

Here we meet another difficulty that besets the establishment of a true sense of responsibility among individual members of the body politic. The evil results of maladministration, while inevitable enough, are by no means obvious. In simpler times the consequences of misgovernment were open and palpable injustice, robbery, and oppression. In these intricate days sins governmental are of a more mediate character. Newly elected Mayor Smith appoints ex-Divekeeper Jones as Chief of Police. No one is thrown into a bastile, or banished, or bastinadoed. There is simply less efficiency in the police department. The city's money is wasted; but that fact comes home in no perceptible form to the non-taxpaying voter, and only in slight measure to the taxpayers themselves. The matter is passed by with a "Jones is a good fellow." It is more than likely, however, that waste in the police department has prevented the city from undertaking some useful improvement, such as the opening of a playground in a congested tenement district. Scores of boys and girls have lost their chance for health, perhaps for life itself. It is hard for the voter to see that he has committed murder by the simple act of casting his ballot, but under such circumstances he has. Legal and moral science concur in fixing upon every man the intention to produce every reasonable consequence of his acts. The criminal voter is the most common type of criminal we have.

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The obligation which the state owes to its members is justice. I do not mean by justice the thing administered by judge and jury. Neither do I mean by justice that narrow personal quality which is listed in the manuals of ethics with courage, temperance, chastity, and kindred "virtues." The justice to which I refer is social justice, not differing in kind perhaps from the personal variety, but so far removed from it in its actual manifestations as to be scarcely capable of comparison with it. It is this justice which is "the great end of man on earth."

If it be questioned that justice is the sole duty of the state to its citizens, a momentary analysis of the other "virtues" will show them to be but synonyms of justice or purely personal qualities impossible to a corporate body. A state cannot be brave, except in its relation to other states, a situation in which it partakes largely of the character of a person. It cannot be chaste or temperate, except in the sense of moderation, which is a phase of justice. Honesty and fairness are but other words for justice. The relations of individuals are also affected by motives which impell to conduct more than just. "Love" and "charity" are familiar names for such expansive impulsives. Life would lose its charm without them. From the point of view of individual ethics they are all important; but with the state there is no room for any obligation beyond simple justice. The self-abnegation of the state would reduce, not increase, the sum of human happiness. It would merely be the subversion of the interests of the many to the interests of the few. The state cannot give more than justice to one without giving less than justice to another,—without robbing Peter to pay Paul. The best the state can do is to give fair play to all its members.

Justice is simply the widest possible diffusion among all the members of society of the opportunity for self-realization. As to what it is in the concrete, no two generations give the same answer. It is a variable constantly approaching infinity. Nautilus-like "each new chamber

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loftier than the last shuts it from heaven with a dome more vast." The history of the world's progress is found in its expanding definition. The street boy of to-day knows more of social justice than the immortal Plato. Was not Plato's ideal state, doubtless in perfect consonance with his idea of justice, founded upon a system of slave labor? Plato saw with the eyes of his time as we with the eyes of our own. Paul preached a gospel which put master and slave on an equality before God, but he taught in the same breath the duty of slaves to submit to their masters. Ascending the years to the full maturity of the feudal system, we find the laborer no longer the personal property of the master. We find him, indeed, possessing certain rights which the master must respect, but he is attached to the soil, with no liberty to go or come, and burdened with heavy services. In 1789 we find the French Revolution enacting a new ideal of justice in the abolition of the old restraints and privileges. We find the English economists of the first half of the nineteenth century preaching "laissez-faire" as the only rule of fairness and justice. To-day we know that to leave men to work out their economic salvation unhampered by legal restrictions is simply to enact the dominance of the strong and the subjection of the weak. In a state of freedom the race is to the swift and the battle to the strong: witness the acquisition of the resources and opportunities of our country to-day by a few great interests. In the inactive state the extremes of society grow steadily apart, the fortune of the parent determining the future of the child. The great mass of those born down stay down or sink lower. If there is to be genuine equal opportunity for all it must be secured through state action limiting the strong, protecting the weak. Justice means, then, the curbing of corporate power, the regulation of monopolies, the prescription of the terms and conditions of employment. It means pure food laws, enforced. It means schools, libraries, playgrounds, nurseries, parks, lectures, and a wide variety of social enter-

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prises. It is significant that the "Money Power" which followed Hamilton against Jefferson demanding a wide exercise of governmental authority have learned the value to themselves of freedom from governmental control and are advocating a strict construction of the constitution. It is the proletarians who are now following Mr. Roosevelt into a new nationalism and beyond.

The phases of justice are as varied as those of human life. To generalize justice, it is the current ideal of social and economic fair play. Popularly it is the "Square Deal." It does not imply equality of possessions or of standing in the community. Equality in this sense would be injustice, unless we are to deny reward to virtue and talent. Neither is justice synonymous with socialism, although many of its manifestations are socialistic. It goes to the point of an opportunity for all men to be, and do, and get the best. That is all.

In conclusion, one further fact must be emphasized. Justice is impossible of achievement to-day except through the state. In some way the social will must be forcibly exerted to settle our vexing problems. Modern industrial development has forever destroyed competition as a method of controlling prices. The consuming public is helpless in this regard except as it is capable of definite political action. Protection against infected milk, impure water, embalmed beef, and sweatshop clothing is far beyond the power of the individual. He lives in an ignorance, by no means blissful, of the origin of his dinner, his coat, and his cigar. We could in a simpler state of civilization raise our own food, make our own candles, own our own horse, and depend upon our own exertions for the abundance and purity of the supply. We have lost control over the quality and price of almost every enjoyable commodity and service. Our only help is in the state whose activity is ubiquitous and whose arm is strong with the strength of the millions.

The state has a wonderful new work to do, far beyond us as individuals. Some fear its increased social activity

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and presage the depreciation of individual development. It will not check but foster individuality. Wider opportunities for self-development are inherent in social fair play. Right living conditions, otherwise impossible, will make men stronger, wiser, more aspiring than ever. If the completest self-realization be the goal of ethical conduct, the way to that goal for the mass of men is through justice. The enactment of justice, as the light of the dawning twentieth century gives us to see it, is the duty of each of those units which in the aggregate are the state. It is our duty as fully responsible participants in the power of the state "to contribute to such changes in the social order as will make the distribution of social functions more just, as will help make opportunities more equal than they now are."[1]

[1] Felix Adler, Religion of Duty, 15.

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UNIVERSITY RECORD

ALBERT H. ALLEN

REGENTS AND FACULTY

NEW APPOINTMENTS

Appointments made at the meetings of the Regents in August and September are as follows:

Robert Sibley, '03, Associate Professor of Mechanical Engineering for one year, during the absence on leave of Professor H. W. Reynolds.

Louis J. Paetow, Wisconsin, '02, Assistant Professor of English History.

C. E. Burke, Toronto '09, Instructor in Chemistry; A. B. Domonoske, '07, Instructor in Mechanical Engineering; Dr. F. E. Hall, Instructor in Dental Technics (College of Dentistry); Warren Perry, Instructor in Architecture, succeeding H. H. Gutterson, resigned; William G. Reed, Harvard '09, Instructor in Climatology.

Chester Roadhouse, Manager of the University Dairy, in addition to his former position as Instructor in Veterinary Science.

Fred G. Athearn, '00, now Manager of the Bureau of Economics of the Southern Pacific Company, as Lecturer in Railway Economics for 1911–12.

Sydney B. Mitchell, head of the order department in the Library, succeeding A. B. Smith, resigned.

George A. Coleman, Stanford '03, Curator of the Entomological Museum.

Paul Steindorff, under title of Choragus, as conductor of the University musical organizations such as the chorus and orchestra, and director of music on the University's great days.

Dr. John A. Force, as Assistant Medical Examiner, as well as Lecturer in Hygiene.

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John Van Nostrand, Gordan C. Davidson, and John G. Iliff, Teaching Fellows in History; Arthur R. Williams, Yale '07, and Flood Fellow in Economics, 1910–11, Teaching Fellow in Mathematics in place of W. A. Newlin, resigned; Solomon Blum and Louis Giamboni, Assistants in Economics; Marie K. Lazarus, Assistant in German; Edward James, Assistant in Chinese; W. S. Schurz, Assistant in Education; Duncan Moses, Assistant in Mechanical Engineering; John A. Dean and Coral Wolfe, Junior Assistants in the University Library; Myrtle Roberts, Librarian's Secretary.

At the October meeting were appointed Harmon F. Fischer, '09, Assistant Professor of Electrical Engineering, in place of G. C. Noble, resigned; W. B. Boys, Assistant Cerealist; R. S. Sheppard, Assistant in the Lick Observatory.

Mr. James K. Moffitt Appointed Regent

At the August meeting of the Regents Mr. James K. Moffitt presented his commission as a Regent, dated July 12, 1911. Mr. Moffitt's appointment fills the vacancy caused by the death of Regent Frank S. Johnson in June, and brings to the board one of the University's most loyal alumni and the President of its Alumni Association. His term as Regent will expire in 1924.

Resignations

Mr. Fred L. Yeaw has resigned as Assistant Plant Pathologist in the Department of Agriculture, as of September 1, 1911, and will go to the Massachusetts Agricultural College. Mr. H. H. Gutterson has resigned as Instructor in Architecture, Mr. A. B. Smith as head of the order department in the Library, Mr. W. A. Newlin as Teaching Fellow in Mathematics, and Mr. Cardinal L. Goodwin declined appointment as Teaching Fellow in History.

Professor Frederick G. Cottrell, Assistant Professor of Physical Chemistry, has resigned to accept a position as Physical Chemist in the United States Bureau of Mines. In this position he will continue his work begun while at the University of investigating and controlling smelter fumes.

Professor Grover Chester Noble, Assistant Professor of Electrical Engineering, has resigned from the University to accept a position with the Pacific Gas and Electric Company.

Death of General Greenleaf

On Sunday, September 3, General Charles R. Greenleaf, M.D., U. S. A. retired, died at San José. General Greenleaf was Honorary Professor of Military and Public Hygiene in the University.

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Notes

Professor Henry Morse Stephens, head of the Department of History, has been appointed for the second time Henry Ward Beecher Lecturer at Amherst College, and will give a course of six lectures there this winter. Professor Stephens was first honored with this appointment in 1908.

Professor W. C. Morgan, of the Department of Chemistry, was elected president of the department of science instruction of the National Education Association during the San Francisco meeting of the association this summer.

GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS

Bacon Hall

The building which has served as the University Library for over thirty years has been made over for use by the Department of Geology and affiliated departments and will hereafter be known as Bacon Hall. Laboratories, offices and small recitation rooms have taken the places of library alcoves, a lecture room has been made of the art gallery, and show cases for specimens and storage cabinets occupy the rotunda and former reading rooms. The departments of Geology, Palaeontology, Mineralogy, and Geography have been installed in the building, and South Hall is now given over entirely to the Department of Physics. The Associated Women Students have been assigned the room in North Hall heretofore occupied by Geography, and Zoology will take the rooms in East Hall when the Physics laboratories are removed to South Hall.

The Permanent Building Fund 1910–11

Expenditures from the Permanent Building Fund for 1910–11 amounted to $204,192.99, as follows:

Sixth and last installment on Bancroft Library Purchase		$25,000.00
Second installment on items of "ten-year programme"		
Strawberry Cañon watershed lands	$20,000.00	
Agriculture Hall	20,000.00	
University Library, furnishings	20,000.00	
University Library, completion	10,000.00	
		70,000.00

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Interest on Endowment Fund moneys borrowed to carry out "ten-year programme"		$8,172.10
Miscellaneous work and equipment	$1,877.66	
New roads	24,575.65	
President's House, building, walks, roads and furnishings	59,753.59	
Tunnels for heating and power system	10,014.82	
Boalt Hall, furnishings	3,997.31	
Transformers	736.36	
Strawberry Cañon weir	65.50	
		101,020.89
		$204,192.99

The Permanent Building Fund at June 30, 1911, showed a deficit of $26,032.26, as follows:

Deficit at June 30, 1910	$19,532.46
Expenditures as above	204,192.99
	$223,725.45
One-quarter of State University Fund	177,693.39
	$46,032.06
First year's installment on Chemistry Building, charged to Permanent Building Fund, June 30, 1910, now cancelled	20,000.00
Deficit, June 30, 1911	$26,032.06

The forecast for the Permanent Building Fund for 1911–12 is as follows:

Third installment on items of ten-year programme		$70,000.00
Balance on appropriations; estimates:		
New roads	$15,400.00	
President's House, walks, roads and furnishings	4,650.00	
Boalt Hall, furnishings	15,000.00	
California Hall, equipment	2,000.00	
Tunnels	500.00	
		37,550.00
		$107,550.00
Overdraft at June 30, 1911		26,032.06
		$133,582.06

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One-quarter of the State University Fund for 1911–12 is expected to yield $190,131.92. Deducting the above charges will leave $56,549.86, subject to expenditures from Bacon Hall alterations, Agricultural Hall furnishings, and changes in California Hall attic.

Senior Women's Hall

The building for the senior women is now approaching completion. It stands on the road up Strawberry cañon, just south of the Greek Theatre. The plans are by Miss Julia Morgan, '94, and the building wil cost about $4000, nearly all of which is on hand. An open veranda overlooking the creek and a great open fireplace in the assembly room are attractive features of the structure, which is to be the gathering place of the women of the senior class.

Second Marble Chair in the Greek Theatre

On October 10 the second marble chair was set in place in the Greek Theatre by the class of 1905 and dedicated by representatives of the class to Professor Henry Morse Stephens.

The first marble chair in the Greek Theatre was the gift of Regent Dohrmann, and was placed there in 1909.

GIFTS TO THE UNIVERSITY

The Regents at their October meeting received from the executors of the estate of Ernst A. Denicke, a former Regent of the University, a gift of $5000, to be known as the Ernst A. Denicke Memorial Fund. This fund is to be used for loans to members of the faculty, and will be administered by a board consisting of the President of the University, the Dean of the Faculties, and Regent F. W. Dohrmann during his term as Regent.

Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst has contributed $2500 toward the cost of a swimming pool for the women students, and has presented to the University an equipment of steel lockers in the Hearst Memorial Mining Building, in value about $1344.

Mr. S. C. Irving, '79, has presented to the University five bonds of the Bohemian Club, the income to be used as an annual prize to be awarded to a member of the student body for the best anecdote, story, poem, or drawing illustrative of American wit and humor.

Mrs. Ernst A. Denicke has given $1000 as an endowment for the purchase of German books for the library, being an addition to the

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fund of $1000 established for this purpose by her husband during his lifetime.

Mr. Henry Atkins has given to the University Library a handsomely bound collection of photographs of landscape paintings by his brother, the late Arthur Atkins.

Miss Henrietta Foster Brewer, for her mother, sister and herself, has presented to the University for Boalt Hall the law library of her brother, the late John A. Brewer, '03.

A Regent who wishes his name withheld has given $500, as a fund with the income of which books are to be purchased for the University Library.

An alumnus of the class of 1898 has given $200, as a token of appreciation of the privileges of a scholarship enjoyed during his senior year, the sum to be used as a loan fund.

An anonymous donor has contributed $225 for an incinerator for the University Hospital.

SUMMER SESSION OF 1911

Enrollment

The total enrollment at the Summer Session of 1911, not including the Summer School of Surveying, was 1950, an increase of 900 over the attendance in 1910. Of this number 625 were men and 1325 were women; 1630 came from California and 320 from thirty-six other states and three foreign countries; 1160 were teachers, 375 were college students, and 415 represented thirty other occupations.

Summer Session Meetings and Lectures

June 26.—University meeting. Professor C. H. Rieber, Dean, Professor W. C. Morgan, Mr. Chester Rowell, editor of the Fresno "Republican," Professor F. E. Chapman, Musical Director, Public Schools of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Professor J. D. Spaeth, Princeton University.

July 3.—Mr. Robert A. Hume, Present Conditions in India.

July 7.—Major Charles Lynch, Medical Staff, U. S. Army, First Aid to the Injured.

July 18.—Professor Vaughan MacCaughey, The Mountains of Hawaii.

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July 18.—Miss E. A. Wilson and Mrs. L. H. Kaull, of the Chico State Normal School, Playground Work.

July 21.—Professor C. J. Keyser, Ways to Pass the Walls of the World.

July 24.—Mr. George W. Braden, The Healing of the Out-of-Doors.

July 24.—Professor Vaughan MacCaughey, The Nature Study Idea.

July 26.—Mr. Julean H. Arnold, American Consul at Amoy, "China."

July 26-27.—Mr. Charles H. Shinn, U. S. Forestry Service, "Forestry."

August 1.—Dr. Maximilian Groszmann, Educational Director of the National Association for the Study and Education of Exceptional Children, School Provisions for Exceptional Children.

August 8.—Professor J. D. Spaeth, Socrates, and the Fine Art of Teaching.

Lectures on Chemistry

Professor W. C. Morgan gave a series of three lectures with subjects and dates as follows:

July 12.—The Wizardy of Flame.

July 19.—Liquid Air.

July 26.—The World of Waste and the Latter-Day Alchemist.

Child Welfare Lectures

In a series of three illustrated lectures, on the evenings of July 5, 6 and 7, Dr. Anna Louise Strong presented the Child Welfare Exhibits given in New York in February, and in Chicago in May, of this year. In order that these exhibits might be possible over $100,000 was spent in taking photographs and in gathering materials of everything pertaining to the child in the home, in the school, in the church, at work and at play. Dr. Strong drew especial attention to the slides illustrating the city's fight for health, and the works of the social settlement.

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Popular Ornithology

Mr. Herbert L. Coggins, of San Francisco, gave four illustrated lectures, with subjects as follows:

July 7.—The Study of Birds.

July 14.—Birds as a Natural Resource.

July 21.—History and Structure of Birds.

July 28.—Nest Building.

Conventions and Associations

A number of conventions and associations meeting during the summer held part or all of their sessions at the University:

June 24 and July 30.—The Astronomical Society of the Pacific. On the July date, Professor Heber D. Curtis, of the Lick Observatory, gave a popular illustrated lecture on the Distance of the Stars.

July 1.—The Classical Association of Northern California.

July 10.—National Education Association. Opening meeting. Addresses by Governor Hiram W. Johnson, Mayor P. H. McCarthy, of San Francisco, President Benjamin I. Wheeler, of the University of California, President Ella Flagg Young, of the National Education Association, Honorable Elmer E. Brown, U. S. Commissioner of Education, President David Starr Jordan, of Stanford University, and Helen M. Wixon, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, of Colorado.

July 15.—California Teachers' Association, History Section.

July 18.—The California Association of Medical Milk Commissions.

July 29.—Pacific Coast Association of Physics and Chemistry Teachers.

Entertainments

A much appreciated feature of this year's Summer Session was the series of organ recitals given at the First Presbyterian Church:

July 11.—Dr. Louis Eaton, organist of Trinity Church, San Francisco.

July 18.—Mr. William B. King.

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Men's Clubs and Fraternities Arranged in Order of Rank by Percentage of 1st and 2nd Grades in 1911

Clubs and fraternities	Percentage of 1st and 2nd grades						Percentage of all passing grades					
	1909		1910		1911		1909		1910		1911	
	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank
Club	54.2	7	62.6	1	70.2	1	83.5	16	85.5	14	93.5	2
Club	.....	....	.....	....	64.3	2	.....	....	.....	....	92.4	3
Club	56.5	5	52.1	8	58.8	3	95.2	1	91.0	3	93.6	1
Club	55.2	6	53.3	4	58.1	4	89.0	9	90.2	5	91.8	5
Club	51.8	9	53.2	6	57.1	5	89.6	7	88.9	8	88.8	11
Club	.....	....	.....	....	56.3	6	.....	....	.....	....	88.6	14
Fraternity	50.9	10	52.4	7	56.2	7	88.4	10	90.0	6	90.2	9
Club	58.3	3	61.6	2	56.1	8	88.1	11	91.0	2	90.2	10
Club	.....	....	51.3	10	54.3	9	.....	....	89.4	7	88.7	13
Fraternity	.....	....	.....	....	54.0	10	.....	....	.....	....	88.7	26
Club	38.2	23	46.5	18	53.4	11	78.6	24	84.3	19	90.4	8
Fraternity	40.8	18	46.7	17	53.2	12	92.9	3	88.6	9	90.5	7
Fraternity	43.7	15	50.1	13	53.0	13	81.6	20	86.3	12	88.3	28
Fraternity	46.7	12	50.4	12	52.7	14	90.9	5	88.2	10	87.6	16
Club	46.3	13	53.3	5	51.6	15	88.0	12	85.0	16	88.8	12
Fraternity	63.4	1	56.2	3	51.4	16	93.6	2	91.5	1	87.3	17
Fraternity	.....	....	.....	....	51.1	17	.....	....	.....	....	92.1	4
Club	58.1	4	50.5	11	49.4	18	91.2	4	90.3	4	90.7	6
Fraternity	46.9	11	47.9	16	48.7	20	76.7	28	84.8	18	86.8	18
Club	36.1	26	38.8	26	49.1	19	80.0	23	82.1	25	87.9	15
Fraternity	39.7	21	42.7	21	48.0	21	80.9	21	82.7	20	86.6	19
Fraternity	60.0	2	52.1	9	47.6	22	89.6	6	85.7	13	84.3	24
Fraternity	38.1	24	40.8	25	45.4	23	82.8	18	82.5	22	88.2	29
Fraternity	44.6	14	48.8	14	44.4	24	86.4	13	87.3	11	84.2	25
Fraternity	30.5	28	38.4	27	43.9	25	74.5	30	79.7	29	85.0	22
Fraternity	43.1	16	43.3	20	43.6	26	84.2	14	85.4	15	86.0	20
Fraternity	36.0	27	35.2	29	42.7	27	76.1	29	75.1	33	81.3	32
Fraternity	.....	....	48.0	15	42.2	28	.....	....	84.8	17	82.8	30
Fraternity	36.8	25	35.4	28	42.2	29	77.4	26	82.7	21	85.1	21
Fraternity	42.3	17	41.2	24	41.9	30	83.1	17	82.2	24	84.7	23
Fraternity	40.4	19	41.8	22	40.6	31	77.7	25	80.8	28	81.3	33
Fraternity	39.8	20	41.3	23	40.2	32	89.1	8	81.7	27	78.3	35
Fraternity	39.4	22	34.3	30	39.3	33	82.7	19	78.2	32	83.5	27
Fraternity	28.0	32	28.2	35	38.8	34	65.1	32	74.3	34	78.2	36
Fraternity	30.1	29	33.6	32	36.4	35	80.8	22	78.6	30	77.4	37
Fraternity	.....	....	34.2	31	35.6	36	.....	....	82.1	26	81.8	31
Fraternity	26.0	31	30.3	33	34.2	37	66.7	31	71.9	35	76.9	38
Club	52.3	8	45.0	19	33.2	38	84.0	15	82.2	23	80.5	34
Fraternity	28.4	30	30.2	34	30.4	39	76.9	27	78.6	31	71.6	39
Average fraternity	39.7		42.2		45.2		81.4		82.8		84.2	
Average club	51.9		52.1		54.6		87.4		87.9		89.0	
All male students	49.5		54.7		56.4		89.3		91.2		91.0	

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July 27.—Dr. H. J. Stewart, organist of St. Dominic's Church, San Francisco.

August 1.—Mr. Robert Harnden, organist of Mills College.

Other musical events of the session were the concert by Mr. Arthur Foote and Miss Anna Miller Wood, on the evening of July 28; the choral recital, under the direction of Frederick E. Chapman, assisted by Mrs. Orrin Kip McMurray and Miss Edna Cadwalader, on July 24; and the piano recital by Mr. Georg Krüger, assisted by Miss Esther Houk, contralto soloist, on June 29.

On the Model Playground, located on the cinder track a "sane Fourth" was celebrated. Patriotic exercises and playground festivities filled the morning, and in the afternoon a folk-pageant was given.

Historic Pageant of California

An exceptionally successful occasion was the presentation, through song, dance and tableau, of the history of California. The production was given on Saturday, July 27, in the Greek Theatre, by the students of the Physical Educational Department, under the direction of Miss Marie R. Hofer, of Chicago, assisted by the Berkeley societies of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Red Men, the Native Sons and Daughters, and the directors of the Oakland Playground Association. There were over seven hundred participants in the thirteen scenes presented.

SCHOLARSHIP IN FRATERNITIES AND CLUBS

Professor Lincoln Hutchinson, Dean of the Lower Division and Advisor, has compiled tables showing the percentage of first and second grades, and the percentage of passing grades, "made" by the men belonging to the house-clubs and fraternities of the University of California. The figures are for three years, and show that while the fraternity members average a lower percentage of first and second grades and of passing grades than the members of the clubs, the average has been rising with the average of all male students, which is higher than that of either club or fraternity men.

Omitting the names of the organizations, the tabulation follows:

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Similar statistics compiled by Professor Lucy Sprague, Dean of Women, for the women students show that the house-clubs outrank the sororities, both in average percentage of first and second sections and of all passing grades, and by about the same margin that the men's house-clubs outrank the fraternities. But the averages among the women's organizations are slightly higher than the averages of other women students, and the women's percentages of first and second grades and of passing grades are conspicuously higher than the men's. Not one of the nineteen organizations of women falls below 90 per cent of passing grades or 50 per cent of first and second sections, while only ten of the thirty-nine organizations of men made 90 per cent of passes, although seventeen average over 50 per cent of the two higher grades. The figures for the women, which are for 1910-11 only, are as follows:

WOMEN'S CLUBS AND SORORITIES ARRANGED IN ORDER OF RANK BY PERCENTAGE OF 1ST AND 2ND GRADES IN 1911

	Percentage of 1st and 2nd grades		Percentage of all passing grades	
	%	Rank	%	Rank
Club	81.00	1	99.51	1
Sorority	78.06	2	96.96	6
Club	77.51	3	99.22	2
Club	76.93	4	97.66	3
Club	75.97	5	95.65	10
Club	75.73	6	97.49	4
Sorority	74.57	7	96.05	8
Sorority	71.70	8	93.57	14
Sorority	68.34	9	93.95	11
Sorority	68.25	10	92.99	16
Sorority	66.72	11	97.31	5
Club	66.57	12	95.95	9
Sorority	66.42	13	92.16	17
Club	65.69	14	91.18	18
Sorority	64.83	15	96.28	7
Sorority	60.03	16	93.76	13
Sorority	59.92	17	93.83	12
Sorority	54.45	18	93.42	15
Sorority	53.57	19	90.36	19
Average sorority	65.67		94.22	
Average club	74.20		96.67	
Other women students	.....		93.20	

The clubs and fraternities are much interested in the relative standings shown in these tables and most of them are coöperating with Professor Hutchinson and Miss Sprague in efforts to secure better scholarship records for their organizations.

REGISTRATION FIGURES

The following shows the total registration this year, in the departments of the University at Berkeley, up to October 16, compared with the figures of corresponding dates in 1908, 1909, and 1910:

	1908	1909	1910	1911
Graduate students	310	323	416	460
Undergraduate students	2498	2715	3033	3308
Total	2808	3038	3449	3768

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The registration in 1911 is distributed as follows:

Graduate students:			
Law (Jurisprudence)		40	
Medicine		16	
Non-professional		404	
			460
Undergraduate students:			
Colleges of Letters, Social Sciences, and Natural Science:			
Women	1155		
Men	782		
		1937	
Colleges of Civil Engineering, Chemistry, Mechanics, and Mining		750	
College of Agriculture		306	
College of Commerce		244	
College of Medicine (not registered in Natural Science)		10	
Students at large		61	
			3308
Total			3768

The total number of *new* undergraduate students entering in 1911, including those entering with advanced standing, is 1090, as against 1006 in 1910, 880 in 1909, and 818 in 1908. Of this year's intrants 57.25 per cent are men, compared with 62.82 per cent of the new enrollment of 1910. Alameda County this year contributes 306, and Los Angeles County 130, increases over last year of 92 and 8. From San Francisco come 103, or two less than in 1910. The registration of the intrants of 1911 is shown by the following:

	Men	Women	Total	Gain or loss
Letters	17	45	62	— 3
Social Sciences	93	267	360	—12
Natural Sciences	126	117	243	+56
Civil Engineering	70	0	70	— 5
Mining	29	0	29	—10
Mechanics	89	0	89	+ 2
Chemistry	22	1	23	+ 5
Agriculture	78	4	82	— 5
Commerce	78	3	81	+ 5
*At large	22	29	51	+51
	624	466	1090	(net gain) 84

* This status introduced into the statistics in 1911 for the first time in recent years.

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	1910-11 No.	%	1911-12 No.	%
Total admissions	1006		1090	
From California:*				
North Coast Region (Del Norte, Humboldt, Lake, Mendocino, and Sonoma counties)	55	6.7	43	4.5
North Interior Region (Butte, Colusa, Glenn, Sacramento, Shasta, Siskiyou, Sutter, Tehama, Trinity, Yolo, and Yuba counties)	64	7.7	79	8.3
Bay Region (Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin, Napa, San Francisco, San Mateo, and Solano counties)	356	42.8	447	47.8
South Interior Region (Fresno, Kern, Kings, Madera, Merced, San Joaquin, Stanislaus, and Tulare counties)	66	7.9	84	8.8
South Coast Region (Monterey, San Benito, San Luis Obispo, Santa Clara and Santa Cruz counties)	54	6.5	47	5.0
Southern California (Imperial, Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, San Diego, Santa Barbara, and Ventura counties)	208	25.0	211	22.5
Mountain Region (Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, El Dorado, Inyo, Lassen, Mariposa, Modoc, Mono, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Sierra, and Tuolumne counties)	28	3.3	28	3.0
Total from California	831	82.6	939	86.2
From other states (including insular and non-contiguous possessions)	142	14.1	134	12.2
Foreign:				
North America	7	0.7	1	0.1
South America	1	0.1	1	0.1
Europe	4	0.4	1	0.1
Africa	....	....	....	....
Asia†	20	2.0	14	1.2
Australasia	1	0.1	....	....
	33	3.3	17	1.6

* Percentages on the several regions of California are based on the totals for California; all other percentages on the total admissions.

† All Chinese and Japanese students are listed here.

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ZOOLOGICAL FIELD WORK IN 1911

As in previous years, the California Museum of Vertebrate Zoology was active during the spring and summer of 1911, in carrying on zoological field work. This year the work was conducted entirely within the State of California, in accordance with the idea that a knowledge of our own fauna is of first importance.

The three months from March to May, inclusive, were occupied in the exploration of the San Joaquin Valley along its entire length, the particular purpose being to ascertain the status of the rodent population of the region. The ranges of the native members of the squirrel, gopher, mouse, and kangaroo-rat families were determined with some accuracy, and much material gathered. This work was prosecuted by Mr. Swarth and Mr. Grinnell, with two assistants.

Miss Annie M. Alexander and Miss Louise Kellogg with two assistants spent the three summer months in the high mountain region of Siskiyou and Trinity counties, collecting birds and mammals, in continuance of work begun there during the previous winter. The series of specimens gathered includes several species new to the Museum, and one new to the known fauna of the state, while much information bearing upon the relationships of the Shasta and coast faunas was obtained.

The period from June 15 to September 15 was occupied in exploration of the mountainous region lying between Tehachapi and Mount Whitney. Mr. Grinnell, Mr. Taylor, and three assistants were engaged in this work, the results comprising, aside from large series of specimens of reptiles, an increased knowledge of the complex faunal conditions at the southern end of the Sierra Nevada.

All of the above field work was made possible through special gifts by Miss Alexander of funds for its support.

MUSIC AND DRAMA

HALF-HOUR OF MUSIC

July 2.—Miss Muriel Andrews and Mr. Burton Sampson, violinists, Miss Lola G. Gwin, accompanist.

July 9.—Mr. Robert D. McLure, baritone, Miss Walton, accompanist.

July 16.—Miss Esther Louise Houk, contralto, Mr. Frederick Maurer, Jr., accompanist.

July 23.—Mr. Chester Herold, tenor, Mrs. Lucien M. Brinker, accompanist.

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July 30.—The Fifth Regiment Band, N. G. C. (Geo. W. Hollister, bandmaster), and Miss Nita Abbott, prima donna soprano.

August 27.—The U. S. Naval Training Station Band (T. U. Kennedy, bandmaster), and Mr. R. B. Kanouse, baritone.

September 3.—Miss Kate Christie, violinist, Miss Mildred Turner, accompanist.

September 10.—Mr. Charles F. Robinson, basso, Mr. Frederick Maurer, Jr., accompanist.

September 17.—Miss May Fitzgerald, '10, pianist, and Mr. Arne Hoisholt, '12, 'cellist.

September 24.—Mr. Lester Donahue, pianist, and Mr. Ernest Paul Allen, violinist, Mrs. Rose Leaves Allen, accompanist.

October 1.—Mr. Carolus Lundine, basso, Mr. Roscoe W. Lucy, accompanist. No concert, inclement weather.

October 8.—Mr. Georg Krüger, pianist. No concert, inclement weather.

October 15.—Miss Sophye Rottanzi, soprano, assisted by Miss Elizabeth Dolan, violinist, Mr. Hjalmar Holmes, 'cellist, and Mr. H. B. Pasmore, accompanist.

Performances by University Organizations

Paolo and Francesca

The English Club of the University presented Stephen Phillips' tragedy "Paolo and Francesca" in the Greek Theatre on the evening of Saturday, October 7.

Performances by Non-University Organizations

Sousa and His Band

On the afternoon and evening of Thursday, October 5, two concerts were given under the management of the Musical and Dramatic Committee, in the Greek Theatre, by Sousa and his band, assisted by Miss Nicoline Zedeler, violinist, Miss Virginia Root, soprano, and Mr. Herbert Clark, cornetist.

Nordica

Mme. Lillian Nordica, prima donna soprano, assisted by Mr. Myron W. Whitney, basso, and Mr. E. Romayne Simmons, pianist, gave a concert in the Greek Theatre under the management of the Musical and Dramatic Committee on the afternoon of Wednesday, October 11.

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MEETINGS AND LECTURES

University Meetings

August 21.—President Benjamin Ide Wheeler, addressing particularly the incoming students.

September 1.—Dr. E. Percival Lewis, Professor of Physics, University of California, and the Rt. Rev. Sidney C. Partridge, Bishop of Kansas City, Missouri; music by Glee Club.

September 15.—Mr. John Graham Brooks, of Cambridge, Mass., Lecturer in Social Economics, and Mr. John Galen Howard, Professor of Architecture, both of the University of California; music by the University Band.

September 29.—Mr. Horace Davis, former President of the University of California, and Miss Mabel Clinch, '12, soprano soloist.

October 13.—Dr. David P. Barrows, Professor of Political Science; music by the Men's Mandolin Club.

The Earl Lectures

The second series of lectures for 1911 on the E. T. Earl Foundation was given by Benjamin Wisner Bacon, D.D., LL.D., under the auspices of the Pacific Theological Seminary. The subjects and dates were as follows:

September 18.—The Evolution of Religion and Historic Types of Christianity.

September 20.—Nineteenth Century Liberalism.

September 22.—Twentieth Century Mythical Idealism.

Physics Department Meetings

September 15.—Professor Frederick Slate, Physical Mathematics.

September 29.—Professor E. Percival Lewis, Spectrum and Chemical Properties of an Active Modification of Nitrogen produced by the Electric Discharge.

October 13.—Professor William J. Raymond, Resisted and Forced Vibrations.

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Newman Club Lectures

Under the auspices of the Newman Club the Rev. Clarence E. Woodman, C.S.P., delivered a series of lectures on the following subjects:

September 20.—The Possibility of Miracles.

September 27.—The Fact of Miracles.

October 11.—Authenticity of the Gospels.

October 19.—The Witness of the Gospels.

On September 28, Bishop O'Connell addressed the club on the Catacombs of Rome, their Origin and Significance.

Philosophical Union

The annual address was given on August 25 by Professor George Santayana, of Harvard University, his subject being The Genteel Tradition in American Philosophy.

The subject of the twenty-third annual programme of the Union has been announced as Naturalism in Philosophy, with especial Reference to the Teachings of Professor George Santayana. The following is the programme for the year:

September 29.—Professor Santayana and Naturalism.

October 27.—Modern Scientific Thought and Its Influence upon Philosophy: Evaluation of Present Day Tendencies. The limits of scientific method, and the nature of scientific truth.

Nov. 24.—Professor Santayana and Idealism: A consideration of his criticism of Berkeley and the Transcendentalists. Status of the 'ideals of Reason' and of Matter in his System.

December 22.—Descriptive and Normative Science: The scope and significance of each. A comparison of methods, and a discussion of the question whether either is derivative from the other.

January 26, 1912—The Ground and Validity of Judgments of Worth: How far, and in what sense, have they objectivity and universality?

February 23.—Naturalism and Ethics: A critique of causal and genetic explanation in the realm of conduct.

March 29.—The Relation of Aesthetic to Religious Values: Significance of the emotions in the appreciation of art and in the religious experience.

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April 26.—The Psychology of Belief: The light which modern Psychology throws upon the phenomena of faith, and the significance of psychological description for the believer.

May 10.—Naturalism and Religion: Can the object of religious worship be identified with the Order of Nature?

Sigma Xi Lecture

October 4.—Professor S. W. Young, of Leland Stanford Junior University, The Recovery of Sulphur from Sulphuret Ores.

Harvey Club Lectures

September 21.—Professor H. B. Torrey, Medicines of the Future.

October 11.—Mr. W. P. Taylor, Life Zones of Mt. Whitney.

October 19.—Mr. H. C. Bryant, Relation of Birds to an Insect Outbreak.

Other Lectures

September 5.—Captain Robert Dollar, of the Robert Dollar Steamship Company, spoke at a meeting of the Economics Club on the American Merchant Marine.

September 13.—Benjamin Wisner Bacon, D.D., of Yale University, delivered an illustrated lecture in California Hall, before the San Francisco Society of the Archaeological Institute of America on "Herod, the Hellenizer, and the Monuments of His Age."

October 6.—Mr. John Eshelmann, State Railroad Commissioner, spoke on the Proposed Railroad Amendments to the California State Constitution.

October 10.—Mr. D. J. Crosby, U. S. specialist on agricultural education, spoke on the "Opportunity in Agriculture for the Young Man."

October 18.—Under the auspices of the Hindu students of the University was held a commemoration of the 2500th anniversary of the teachings of Buddha, with addresses by Professor John Fryer, Professor Arthur W. Ryder, and Mr. Suren M. Bose, of Calcutta.

October 20.—Mr. Henry George, Jr., under the auspices of the Department of Economics, lectured on the Single Tax.

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AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Agricultural Research Outlined.

The Regents' Committee on Agriculture at the August meeting recommended the adoption of the following plan, submitted by Professor Wickson, of work to be done at the Southern California laboratories during the year 1911-12:

1. Expenditure of special legislative appropriation:

Land and buildings for Riverside Citrus Experiment Station	$25,000.00
Enlargement of laboratory at Whittier	4,000.00
Heating furnace, Whittier	400.00
Barn and workshop, Whittier	1,000.00
Laboratory equipment, Whittier	2,000.00
	$32,400.00

2. Extension of research and experiment in the Imperial Valley, for which the legislature appropriated $1,500.
3. Investigation of the "brown spot" of the orange.
4. Investigation of certain diseases of lemons.
5. Experiments with the English walnut, to secure a variety immune to the "walnut blight."
6. The study of vegetable diseases, particularly of the tomato, sweet potato, and watermelon.
7. Experiments on "crown gall" immunity.
8. Special studies of insects affecting citrus trees.
9. Improvement of fruit varieties.
10. Special studies of citrus fruits.

Short Courses at Davis

A Rural Education Conference was held Saturday, October 14, at the University Farm, Davis. The conference was in connection with the Short Courses in Agriculture offered by the University this fall. The courses and dates are as follows:

General Agriculture, October 2–13.
Dairy Manufactures, October 2–November 18.
Dairy Farming, October 16–28.
Poultry Husbandry, October 2–November 10.
Animal Industry and Veterinary Science, October 30–November 11.
Horticulture and Viticulture, October 30–November 11.
Household Economics, October 9–13.

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UNDERGRADUATE AFFAIRS

The Glee Club in Europe

During the summer of 1911 the University Glee Club made a very successful tour of Europe after their third annual concert tour over the Santa Fé railroad to Chicago. Arriving in France on June 26, the Glee Club gave concerts in Paris, London, and Berlin during July.

California at the Conference Meet

Represented by only four men, California won third place at the Western Intercollegiate Track Meet at Minneapolis, June 3, with 20 points. Fred Allen, '13, made a new record of 23 feet 1 inch in the broad jump, the only new mark made at this meet. California's representatives were F. H. Allen, Beeson, Hale and H. H. Wood.

Changes in Coöperative Society

The Associated Students, on the advice of their executive committee, have endorsed a plan for revising the constitution of the Coöperative Society which was suggested by Professor Plehn, president of the society. The principal change will consist in admitting to active membership in the society all students who hold cards as members in the Associated Students.

The Honor Societies

Tau Beta Pi

At the semi-annual initiation of the engineering honor society, the following were admitted to membership: W. H. Archer, S. E. Carpenter, F. R. Felchlin, H. B. Hammill, J. F. Pollard, J. R. Suman, P. W. Thompson, and J. P. Zipf, all of 1911; Mr. C. W. Whitney, '99, was initiated as an alumnus member of the Michigan chapter.

Mim Kaph Mim

Mim Kaph Mim, the chemistry honor society, admitted nine new members at an initiation in September. P. F. Bovard, local representative of the United States Reclamation Service, was chosen an honorary member and the following University students became active members: O. B. Nelson, '12, A. M. Weston, '12, A. A. Eaton, '13, W. J. Barnhill, '13, L. W. Dickey, '13, E. D. Eastman, '13, Albino Martinetti, '13, G. B. Moody, '13.

Golden Bear

Horace Davis, former President of the University, and Regents S. C. Irving, '79, and Arthur W. Foster were elected honorary mem-

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bers of the Golden Bear Society in May. Undergraduate members were elected as follows: C. A. Allen, A. L. Beal, J. B. Black, C. L. Butler, E. G. Clewe, L. R. Miller, C. A. Phleger, H. H. Phleger, N. B. Drury, E. M. Einstein, A. W. Elliott, M. A. Cartwright, Harry Gabbert, J. R. Quinn, R. L. Shurtleff, R. C. Ingram, H. C. Kelly, R. C. McGee, J. G. Sweet, and E. L. Watts, of the class of 1912; J. U. Calkins, W. E. DeBerry, G. A. Work, R. W. Cross, and K. C. Leebrick, of the class of 1911.

The Winged Helmet

The following were elected members of the honor society of the junior class in May: J. J. Alexander, F. H. Allen, E. I. Beeson, W. M. Forker, L. M. Foulke, H. B. McClelland, E. F. Sullivan, H. H. Wood, and S. B. Peart, all of the class of 1913.

Changes of Debating Dates

By a new arrangement with representatives of the Stanford University debaters, the intercollegiate debate will be held during the fall semester and the Carnot debate in the spring, thus distributing more evenly through the year the work of preparation for the two leading debating events.

For the Intercollegiate Debate to be held this year at Stanford on November 3, H. H. Phleger, '12, T. B. Kittredge, '12, and L. E. Goodman, '13, have been selected to represent California.

For the purpose of considering the problem of athletic fields in general, and the particular problem of a site for a new running track, President Wheeler has appointed a commission consisting of Professor C. L. Cory, chairman, Regent Guy C. Earl, Warren Olney, Jr., for the Alumni Council, James G. Schaeffer, coach, Dr. Roy Woolsey, assistant trainer, and N. B. Drury, president of the Associated Students.

Graduate students have formed this year an organization to be known as the Historical Association of the University of California, its purpose being to advance study and research in history. The seminar rooms of the Department of History in the Library will be in charge of the Association, and will be its headquarters.

About eight hundred men from the University were employed as watchers at the polls in the San Francisco municipal primary election, September 26.

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S.E.J. Col.

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